

PHILO
THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS

TRANSLATION BY
F. H. COLSON

INDICES TO VOLUMES I–X
J. W. EARP



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PREFACE TO VOLUME X

MR. COLSON lived long enough to correct his last proofs, but not to complete his notes and index. What he left is here given. This translation is really his work, although other names are associated with the early part ; but I have gone through the whole in ms. with him, so I know that the work is Colson's monument, and I believe it will last. A translator more careful and more competent I never worked with.

W. H. D. ROUSE

November 1943

For compilation of the indices we are indebted to the Rev. J. W. Earp.

E. H. W.

INTRODUCTION TO THE *DE LEGATIONE*

THE treatise generally known by this somewhat misleading name is a very lively and powerful invective against the Emperor Gaius. One part of it, in which he gives an account of the ineffectual design of Gaius to introduce his statue into the temple of Jerusalem, supplementing and in many places differing from Josephus's account of the same incident, is of considerable value in the history of Judaism. Otherwise it adds little or nothing to our knowledge of the reign of Gaius or to the accounts given in the regular historians of his follies and vices. It does not repel by its vindictiveness to the same extent as the *Flaccus*, though perhaps if we possessed the "Palinode" which is promised at the end, this opinion would have to be modified. It has some difficult problems peculiar to itself which are discussed later in this introduction. Meanwhile I give the following analysis of its contents.

It opens with a few introductory remarks, on which see p. xx (1-7), and then proceeds to describe the splendid prospects with which Gaius's reign opened and the world-wide delight and hope which his accession aroused (8-13), then the deep disappointment and sorrow which his serious illness caused, followed

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by renewed rejoicing for his recovery (14-21). From this recovery dates the revelation of Gaius's true character: and there follows a full account of the compulsory suicide of Tiberius Gemellus (22-31) and of Macro, prefaced by a long description of the services he had rendered to Gaius before his accession and his attempts to keep him in the straight path after his accession and the resentment felt by him at his admonitions (32-64); also the murder of his father-in-law Silanus (62-65). Public opinion indeed was shocked by these atrocities; yet it still clung to the hope that Gaius was not really depraved, and found some measure of justification for them (66-73).

Having thus freed himself from all rivalry and restraint Gaius proceeded to his crowning wickedness, his claim to divinity. This occupies the next forty sections and is developed with very powerful rhetoric. He held that he was as far above other men as a shepherd is above his sheep (74-76); so he assumed the insignia of the demigods Heracles, the Dioscuri and Dionysus, but his actions were the complete reverse of the beneficent labours of the first, the brotherly affection of the second and the gift of wine bestowed by the third (77-92). Worse still, he assumed the part of the full-blown deities Hermes, Apollo, Ares. What a contrast was his life to the pacific mission of the herald's staff of Hermes, to the work of Apollo as physician and prophet, and to the function of the true Ares which is to protect the weak! (93-113).

Hitherto the treatise has dealt entirely with the general depravity of Gaius culminating in his assumption of godship, and the Jews have not been mentioned since the introductory sections. From this

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point onwards it is his hostility to the Jews and their sufferings traceable to it which occupy the treatise. The connecting link between the two is that this hostility is supposed to be due to the Jews alone refusing to acknowledge his godship (114-119). The Alexandrians knew his resentment of this, and made it an opportunity for the great pogrom of A.D. 38 which is described in 120-131. In this description we traverse much the same ground as in the *Flaccus*, though there is no suggestion that Gaius's resentment had anything to do with it, while on the other hand the active connivance of Flaccus, which was there a leading feature, is only just hinted here. There are many differences but no substantial contradiction between the two accounts. But in this treatise the pogrom is followed by the attack made upon the synagogues by introducing the images of Gaius (132-136) and here the differences are numerous. In the *Flaccus*, the violation of the synagogues precedes the pogrom and nothing is heard of the wholesale destruction by fire or demolition nor of the effective resistance by the Jews in neighbourhoods where they were in considerable force. That the motive of the Alexandrians was not really loyalty to the emperor is shown because no such attempt was made by them during the reigns of previous sovereigns, neither of the Ptolemies nor yet of Tiberius nor Augustus, though if Gaius deserved such honours, how much more did they, and this is followed by a glowing and possibly sincere panegyric on Augustus (137-151). Why then did the Alexandrians make no attempt during these two reigns to force the Jews to admit their images into the synagogues? It was because they knew that Augustus would tolerate no such violation and

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that in fact in various ways he showed his careful consideration and respect for Jewish institutions (152-158). The same in general may be said of Tiberius in spite of certain troubles which were entirely due to Sejanus's evil influence (159-161).

Gaius however was so deluded as to believe that the adoration of the Alexandrians was genuine, and their influence helped to excite him against the Jews (162-165). Others who worked in the same direction were the Egyptian courtiers headed by Helicon, who was particularly intimate with the emperor and employed his gift of satire to prejudice him against the Jews in the way which Philo describes at length (166-177). At first the Jewish Embassy hoped to conciliate him, but when they found this impossible they determined to address the emperor directly, but it was in vain (178-180). Gaius indeed greeted the envoys in a friendly manner, but this was hypocrisy as Philo suspected at the time (181-183), and this was proved when while waiting for the summons they heard the terrible news of the proposed violation of the temple at Jerusalem (184-188). The horror caused by the news and the perplexity of the envoys as to what should be their next step are fully described (189-196), and we pass on to the full story of the proposed introduction of the statue into the temple, which occupies two-fifths of the treatise. The first part of this is supposed to be told by the persons who brought the tidings, but it glides imperceptibly into a narrative by Philo himself. There are five main stages: (1) the Jamneian incident, the destruction by the Jews of the rude altar set up by the Jamneians, the anger of Gaius when this was reported to him by Capito, and his consequent order to

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Petronius the governor of Syria that a colossal statue of himself should be introduced into the Temple (197-206); (2) Petronius while seeing the danger of the proposal makes an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the Jewish authorities to the inevitable (207-224); (3) a vast assembly of Jews from all parts comes to supplicate Petronius saying that they would rather die than live to see such sacrilege. Meanwhile they demand to be allowed to send an embassy to the emperor (225-242); (4) Petronius though much moved by their appeal cannot accept this demand but sends a diplomatic letter to the emperor pleading for or rather apologizing for delay (243-253). Gaius though much enraged postponed taking any measures against Petronius, but merely bade him get the statue made and set up as soon as possible (250-260); (5) meanwhile Agrippa appears on the scene and hears from Gaius the story of what has happened. He collapses utterly and remains in this state for some days (261-275). On his recovery he writes a long epistle to Gaius, appealing for consideration for the Jewish nation, the city of Jerusalem and the Temple, and with regard to this last he expatiates on the honour which has been paid to it by Gaius's ancestors and predecessors (276-329). The emperor yields to this appeal and countermands his orders for the time, but Philo declares that he not only nullified the concession by threatening to punish any Jews who did violence to any altar or statue dedicated to himself outside Jerusalem, but really intended to carry out his previous intention in the course of the coasting voyage which he proposed to make to Egypt (330-338). To this story is appended some denunciations of his treachery, capriciousness, and cruelty in

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other matters, stressing especially his hatred of the Jews and the sin of intending to violate the Temple itself (339-348). The rest of the treatise is an account of the scene in which the ambassadors were summoned to Gaius's presence to lay before him their political claims whatever they were. It is one continuous scene, in the first part of which they are carried about in the company of the emperor who is engaged in inspecting some houses, and have a few contemptuous remarks flung at them not bearing on the subject (349-362). In the second part they are treated a little more seriously and are actually invited to state their case, but no real hearing is given to them and they are finally dismissed with the verdict that they are not so much knaves as fools (363-367). The sense of hopelessness with which they depart is described (368-372) and the treatise breaks off with the promise of the Palinode (373).

The title *Περὶ ἀπετῶν* is mysterious. It is given in all the mss. used by Reiter save one, and the majority have the addition of *α'*. It is vouched for as the title assigned by Philo himself in two passages of Eusebius, in one of which he says that the name was given by Philo to his description of Gaius's blasphemous impiety (*θεοστρυγία*) "facetiously (or whimsically) and ironically" (*μετὰ ἡθους καὶ εἰρωνείας*), i.e. it really means "On the wickedness of Gaius and his gang."

No one I think has ever taken this explanation of Eusebius seriously, yet perhaps we should note that in this treatise we do find ironical phrases which do not appear elsewhere as well as I can remember in his writings, e.g., his description of Gaius's "wise and excellent advisers," and the "aristocratic" Helicon (203), his application of *σεμνός* to the animal worship

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of Egypt (163) and the "affability and kindness" of Gaius's greeting to the ambassadors in § 352. We may remember that the treatise belongs to a totally different kind of literature from all the other serious works of Philo except the *Flaccus*, and is written in a different vein even from that, which does claim to be a continuous historical narrative. It is perhaps just possible that Philo may have extended this peculiar gift of sarcasm to the title itself but it is only just possible.

Passing over the suggestions that it refers to the virtues of the Greek gods (93-113) or those of the persecuted Jews, we have the far more satisfactory explanation given by Reiter.^a According to him the ἀρεταί are those of God. He points out that in inscriptions we sometimes find the term indicating not an attribute of the God but a particular act of intervention. Further it is suggested that the word ἀρετάλογος, the meaning of which has been disputed, means a person who describes or proclaims the ἀρεταί, i.e. the miracles of the god.^b Philo then gives this title to a work which shows how God ultimately saves or rewards his people. Special examples are the working of providence in §§ 220, 336 and 367. The crowning example no doubt would have been the death of Gaius.

This explanation has the great merit that though the examples of God's ἀρεταί in this sense are not a prominent feature in the treatise as we have it, it harmonizes with the note struck in the introduction that the events of his time proved that God takes thought for men and particularly for Israel. There

^a In Ἐπιτύμβιον Η. Swoboda dargebracht, pp. 228-237.

^b e.g., Σαράπιδος ἀρετή ἢ περὶ Συρίωνα τὸν κυβερνήτην.

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are only two considerations which may make one hesitate to accept it. The title must originally have been as Reiter himself says *Περὶ ἀρετῶν θεοῦ* and it is difficult to see how this vital addition should have dropped out before the time of Eusebius. Secondly Philo constantly speaks of the *ἀρεταὶ θεοῦ*, often coupled with *δυνάμεις*, but there is no indication, but rather the contrary, that this means anything more than the excellencies, *i.e.* the attributes of God, or that he conceives of any particular action as being an *ἀρετή*, as according to Reiter's theory it must be. If this explanation is rejected we should have to set it down as a mistake of Eusebius, who perhaps confused the name of this treatise with the other *Περὶ ἀρετῶν*, which is a part of the Exposition of the Laws and is given in vol. viii. of this translation, and that from Eusebius it found its way into the mss.

A far more important question concerns the structure of the treatise. The concluding words show that Philo wrote or intended to write what he calls the *Palinode*, that is an account of or reflections on the terrible end of Gaius. But apart from this we have to consider whether what we have is a continuous part of a longer whole, or selected portions of a longer and mutilated work, or whether on the other hand what we have is apart from the *Palinode* all that he actually wrote. The subject has been discussed both by Schürer, who held that the *Legatio* as we have it is the fourth in a series of five books; by Massebieau, who finds four books within the compass of our *Legatio* but postulates two great lacunae, and by Cohn in a somewhat vaguer statement suggesting that pieces out of four books have been compressed into the existing book. All three agree in holding

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that the Palinode was the fifth book in the series and that apart from this much has been lost. This opinion seems to be generally accepted, not only by the three writers mentioned but by Reiter and Delaunay and also quite recently by Goodenough, Box and Bell; and indeed I had myself taken it for granted; however it now seems to me, to say the least of it, unproved, and though I can hardly hope to carry conviction I feel bound to ask for a fresh consideration of the evidence.

The foundation on which all the three scholars mentioned primarily rest is the following passage in Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5 :

Philo has narrated in five books what happened to the Jews in the time of Gaius. He combines in this work a full description of the insanity of Gaius as shown by his announcing himself as a god and perpetrating innumerable outrages in his government, of the miseries of the Jews in his time, of the embassy which he himself conducted to the city of the Romans on behalf of those of his own race in Alexandria, and of how when he appeared before Gaius on behalf of his ancestral laws he received nothing but laughter and ridicule and narrowly escaped risking his life.^a

Leaving this for future examination, we have to consider what Eusebius says about the treatise elsewhere. After quoting Josephus's version of the interview of the ambassadors with Gaius, he goes on :

Philo himself in the *Embassy* which he wrote gives a carefully detailed account of what he did at the time. I shall pass over the greater part and cite only those points which plainly demonstrate to readers the misfortunes which came upon the Jews in consequence of their crimes against Christ

^a In this and the other passages cited from the *Hist. Eccl.* I have used Kirsopp Lake's version in the Loeb translation with some minor and some more important alterations.

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both at the same time ^a and shortly afterwards. In the first place he relates that in the time of Tiberius in the city of the Romans Sejanus, who of the men of that time had most influence with the emperor, seriously concerned himself ^b to effect the destruction of the whole race, and in Judaea Pilate, in whose time the crime against the Saviour was perpetrated, made an attempt on the temple still standing in Jerusalem contrary to what was lawful to the Jews and stirred them to the greatest frenzy.

With this compare the following entry in the Eusebian *Chronicle* (Jerome's version) :

Seianus praefectus Tiberii, qui apud eum plurimum poterat, instantissime cohortatur ut gentem Iudaeorum debeat. Philo meminit in libro legationis secundo.

Then passing on to Gaius's reign Eusebius quotes *Legatio* 346 and then proceeds :

Philo in the second ^c of the books which he entitled *On the Virtues* narrates innumerable other atrocities perpetrated on the Jews in Alexandria in the same reign and Josephus confirms him, showing in the same way that the universal misfortunes of the nation date from the time of Pilate and the crimes against the Saviour.

On the mention of Sejanus and Pilate in the second of these quotations Cohn and the others build a theory that the treatise originally included a book or a large part of a book describing the persecutions

^a i.e. as the Crucifixion ; cf. (in *Chronicle*) " scribit autem (Josephus) quod eodem anno [as the Crucifixion] Pilatus praeses secreto noctis imagines Caesareas in templo statuerit, et haec prima seditionis et barbarum Iudaeis causa exstitit."

The disturbances caused by Sejanus are apparently dated in the *Chronicle* two years later.

^b Or " took energetic steps."

^c I follow Cohn in reading δευτέρῳ συγγράμματι ὡς ἐπέγραψε for φ. This is not a correction as it is the reading of two mss. and Rufinus's translation. Kirsopp Lake's objection that it would require the article is sufficiently disproved a few lines lower down by ἐν δευτέρῳ τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ πολέμου

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suffered under those two persons. Is it really necessary to look beyond the passage about Sejanus in *Legatio* 154 f. and the story of Pilate bringing images into Jerusalem in *Legatio* 299 ff. ? These scholars all ignore the obvious fact that Eusebius is not here concerned to give an account of Philo's writings, which he does somewhat confusedly in the eighteenth chapter, but to support his conviction that the troubles of the Jews date from the Crucifixion, and were a retribution for it.

The passage about Sejanus is very short but it is good enough to prove that Philo supports this view and Eusebius here follows his words pretty closely, while his entry in the *Chronicle* to judge from Jerome's version is closer still. As to Pilate, if we had this passage alone it might well be argued that the reference is to something outside our existing *Legatio*, for the attempted outrage is said to be against the temple, whereas in *Legatio* 299 ff. not only is there no such suggestion but the point is made that unlike Gaius's proposed sacrilege it was not against the temple (302). But in the *Demonstratio Evangelica* viii. p. 403 Eusebius cites Josephus as stating that Pilate brought the images of Caesar by night into the temple and continues : " to this Philo testifies saying that Pilate set up by night the royal ensigns of Caesar in the temple, which was the beginning of factions." Now I think there can be no reasonable doubt in spite of the discrepancy between shields and ensigns ^a that the incident here mentioned as being described by Josephus and testified to by Philo is the same as

^a It should be added that Philo in *Legatio* does not say that the shields were brought in by night, though he does not deny it.

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that described by Agrippa in *Legatio* 299.^a But Eusebius states that both Josephus and Philo made the temple the scene of the outrage.^b Now we know that Josephus does not do so in either of the two accounts^c which he has written and that Philo does not in the account which has come down to us. Which is the more natural supposition? That Philo in some other version of the incident lost to us contradicted himself or that Eusebius made the same mistake about Philo as he did about Josephus? If we say the latter, the natural conclusion is, that when he speaks in the *History* of an attempt on the temple mentioned by Philo he refers to the same incident. And in view of this there seems to me to be no more necessity to postulate a fuller account now lost of Pilate's activities than of those of Sejanus.

In addition to this supposed necessity Cohn and Massebieau rely on the number of lacunas which they think are evident in the existing treatise. The first of these lies between the first and second chapters. The γάρ with which the second opens has, they say, no logical connexion with the preceding chapter. I think this is a misapprehension of Philo's regular method. The essence of the introductory chapter is in the first three or four sections. Men judge blindly by the present (1, 2) and yet the events which have happened should convince them of the reality of providence, especially its care for Israel (3, 4). At this point he goes off into a thoroughly Philonic

^a I observe that Reiter, though he accepts the mutilation theory, gives on *Legatio* 299 a reference to Dem. p. 403, and that Heikel on Dem. p. 403 gives a reference to *Legatio* 299.

^b He ascribes the same statement to Josephus in the *Chronicle*. See citation, p. xviii.

^c *Ant.* xviii. 3. 1, *Bell. Jud.* ii. 9. 2.

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ramble : (a) Israel means he who sees God, (b) to see God is the highest gift, (c) for reason in itself cannot apprehend God nor even His powers, (d) the powers mean His punitive as well as His beneficial powers. Now I confess I am surprised that in introducing the treatise Philo has allowed himself to ramble into a train of ideas which belong to the Commentary, where all four frequently reappear, particularly as he keeps clear of anything of the kind in the rest of the book. But I am not surprised, that when after the introduction he starts to work, he harks back to what is the essence of the introduction. It is quite in his way to go back to the main point after a rambling parenthesis, often as here with a logical connexion which ignores the parenthesis.^a And if this is understood what better proof of the blindness of men could be found than the joy and hopefulness which greeted Gaius's accession and recovery ? ^b Though indeed the γάρ goes further than this. It suggests that the story which begins with this blind rejoicing will also illustrate the belief expressed in § 4 that providence watches over Israel and overthrows the oppressor. Should we expect him to put this into words at this point and anticipate the Palinode by mentioning the fate of Gaius, an event presumably quite recent and common knowledge to all his readers ?

Of the other three lacunas registered in Reiter's

^a For such resumptive conjunctions after a longer or shorter parenthesis see, e.g., (γάρ) *Spec. Leg.* i. 6, iv. 101, (οὖν) *Leg. All.* i. 77 and iii. 211, (ὥστε) *De Fug.* 64, (οὕτως) *De Cong.* 135. The resumption of Gaius's vices in § 339 of this treatise, after the parenthetical disquisition on Alexandria, is much the same, though μέντοι does not imply the same causal connexion, cf. also note on § 292. ^b Cf. § 21.

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text two are discussed in the notes on §§ 180 and 292. Before we come to the fourth we have Cohn's complaint that the Embassy is suddenly introduced in § 174 without any account of how it came to be sent, which therefore must have dropped out. This seems to me to mistake entirely the nature and object of the treatise. It has acquired the title of the *Embassy* naturally enough because all that Philo tells us about himself is connected with the Embassy, but there is no sign that Philo himself gave it that title. In fact throughout it is a "Philippic,"^a an invective against Gaius and to a minor extent his satellites, and nothing else. Hardly anything^b is mentioned which does not reflect on these, either directly or indirectly by extolling his predecessors or his honest servants like Petronius. The Embassy only appears in the story when Philo gives us his personal experiences of the enemy. It first appears when the machinations of Helicon in fostering Gaius's hostility are described. Then comes the first meeting with Gaius and Philo's conviction that his friendly greeting was only hypocrisy. There follows the scene in which they hear of the proposed outrage. In his long story of this attempt Philo is throughout at pains to emphasize the Jewish feeling of horror and he inevitably begins

^a Though the analogy is of course very rough, one cannot help observing how Cicero in the *Second Philippic* leaves a vast number of less relevant matters unexplained. Philo is not likely to have read Cicero, but he did read Demosthenes, and may have got something of the same lesson from his attacks on Aeschines. The story in Eus. ii. 18, that he read the *Περὶ ἀπερῶν* or part of it to the whole senate in Rome does not sound very probable but does represent a feeling that the treatise was of the epideictic Oration type.

^b The one thing which strikes me as irrelevant to the invective is the mention of the memorial in § 179.

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with the sensations and perplexities of his own party. At this point the story passes on to scenes and personages far away from the ambassadors and while it is proceeding we hear no more of them. Then comes the actual interview. Surely, says Delaunay, he must have described how this interview came to be conceded. Possibly if his subject was the Embassy, not if it is Gaius. I cannot feel that there is any strong reason for placing a lacuna at § 311.

Cohn and Delaunay might possibly have replied that my view that the treatise is essentially a Philippic and not a sober history of the Embassy is not only unacceptable to them, but is contradicted by Eusebius when he says that Philo gives a carefully detailed account of what he did at that time. Different opinions may be held about this, but it seems to me that what we have in the treatise would be felt by Eusebius to justify his statement. For the scenes in which the ambassadors appear, particularly the last, are described with the vividness of detail which deserves the epithets τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀκριβῶς and I do not think he would have troubled himself about the abruptness of the introduction. Moreover the phrase "the things done by him" is used with a looseness which forbids taking it very seriously. For he says that of these "doings" he will omit most and cite—what? the troubles caused by Sejanus and Pilate, which on no supposition can be parts of his doings.

So far then I can find no sign that apart from the Palinode the *Legatio* ever extended beyond what we still have. But what about the Five Books? Can we pack them or even four of them into the existing 372 sections? If not, it may reasonably create a suspicion that something has been lost.

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The description given by Eusebius of the scope of the five books agrees quite closely with what we have. It may suggest that more was said about the Embassy, but as it confines itself to the events of Gaius's reign it certainly does not support the idea that events of Tiberius's reign like the persecutions of Sejanus and Pilate were given at any length. As no titles are given we cannot rule out the possibility that the *Flaccus* was one of the five, since it certainly describes one of the matters mentioned in the list. But the phrase πέντε βιβλίοις does not fit in very well with a five made up of four books of *Legatio* plus a totally distinct work like the *Flaccus*. The *Legatio*, if judged by the sense, naturally splits up into four parts: (1) 1-113, where Gaius's degeneration and his three murders of Gemellus, Macro and Silanus and his blasphemous assumption of godship are the subject, and the Jews are never once mentioned after the introductory sections; (2) 114-161, giving the troubles of the Jews in Alexandria and the contrast of their treatment under former emperors, and it is significant that the two matters mentioned by Eusebius as belonging to the second book of the *Embassy* or *Virtues* both fall within these limits^a; (3) 162-348, events outside Egypt and the whole story of Gaius's proposed outrage on the temple; (4) 349 to the end, the interview, and if we add as all the others do the Palinode we get the required number. I indeed feel very doubtful whether Eusebius included this among the Five or knew of its existence, for surely he would have added such a leading matter as the

^a i.e. the sufferings of the Alexandrian Jews "in the second of the books which he entitled *On the Virtues*"; Sejanus "in the second book of the *Legation*" (*Chronicle*).

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retribution on the blasphemer to his list of subjects. I should prefer to get a five-fold division rather than a four-fold from the 372 sections, but I do not find it easy. A good break indeed is made at § 73, but this would bring the two matters definitely stated as being in the second book into the third. Possibly the inordinately long third division might have been re-divided at the appearance of Agrippa at § 261, but such an arrangement would not be very logical as the story of the statue is a continuous whole which does not admit of any real break. But let us take the easier course, and assume that the 372 sections made up four books. Can it be objected that $\beta\iota\beta\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ is too big a word for such divisions? I do not know of any grounds for thinking so. Or that the mss. tradition has no knowledge of such divisions as separate books except the inscription $\Pi\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\alpha}'$ at the beginning which may have held on when β' and γ' and δ' were lost? The argument may have some force, but surely will apply with much more force to the schemes of the advocates of the mutilation theory. Or that the length of the third division and the brevity of the fourth are objections? I think that the first may have some weight but not the second. The *De Specialibus Legibus* i. with 350 sections is divided in the mss. into six separate treatises, the first of which is only eleven sections and the other, *De Virtutibus*, includes one separate heading *On repentance* which is only twelve.

Altogether, even if the statement about the five books creates some difficulty, the possibilities ^a con-

^a Among these may perhaps be included the possibility that a single letter ϵ' was put by mistake for some other numeral letter.

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nected with it are so many, that we cannot build on it without that support from internal evidence which to my mind is entirely wanting. However I quite feel the weight of the body of opinion which asserts the contrary, and do not forget the Cromwellian adjuration "to believe that it is possible that I may be mistaken."

The Embassy is not the subject of the treatise, but we have to consider what we learn about it from incidental hints.

It had two distinct objects, and was sent to plead two distinct causes (*ὑποθέσεις*). These two are vaguely indicated in describing the memorandum (179) as our sufferings or experiences (*ὧν ἐπάθομεν*) and our claims (*ὧν τυχεῖν ἡξιούμεν*). But they are more clearly defined in §§ 191 ff. where it appears that one was concerned with the synagogues (*προσευχαί*) and the other with their *πολιτεία*. As to the first, the envoys remark that if Gaius does not shrink from desecrating the Temple he will not listen to any appeal against the desecration of the synagogues. As to the other, we learn that it consists in "showing that we are Alexandrians." When we come to the actual reception (349 ff.), how many months after we do not know, the envoys are invited to state their claims as to *πολιτεία*, this only, and the other is not mentioned.^a For the opening passage of arms, in which Gaius reproaches the Jews for refusing to admit his deity and is backed up by Isidorus's state-

^a This is curious. Had there been meanwhile a change of conditions in Alexandria, which made the plea unnecessary? or was it thought more politic not to start a question which by its similarity might stir up Gaius's resentment at having been driven to make the concession to Jerusalem, which I assume him to have made before the interview?

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ment that they neglected to sacrifice, a charge which the envoys indignantly deny, has really nothing to do with the complaint that the synagogues have been desecrated. The claim which they are invited to discuss is represented (350) as a plea to retain rights which have never been questioned in the four centuries during which Alexandria has existed, and it is alleged (371) that an adverse decision would be a disastrous blow to the whole of the Dispersion and would put the Jewish population in every city at the mercy of the hostile Gentiles, who would destroy the synagogues and take away the privileges which they had enjoyed. Whether this claim was one for full Alexandrian citizenship, as the phrase "showing that we are Alexandrians" suggests, or to specific rights to independence asserted by the Jews and denied by the others,^a is a question which I do not feel competent to answer, and I doubt whether in the absence of other evidence it can be answered with any certainty.

A further very difficult question is the chronological. Did this Embassy, of which are we only told that it set out in mid-winter, arrive in Italy in A.D. 39 or 40?

We have the following certain data to work upon : we know that the troubles at Alexandria which gave rise to the Embassy took place in the summer of A.D. 38, that Gaius was away from Italy in Gaul and Germany from September 39 to at least May 40,^b

^a That is to say, *πολιτεία*=*πολίτευμα* or membership of a *πολίτευμα*, i.e. of a "corporation formed by membership of race or community domiciled in a foreign state." This perhaps would give more body to the prophecies of the disasters to be anticipated from an adverse decision.

^b See Balsdon, *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xxiv. pp. 17 and 21.

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and that he was killed on 24th January 41. Now clearly Gaius was in Rome when the ambassadors first met him, and in the south of Italy when they first heard of the proposed violation of the Temple, and in Rome when they had their interview with him. We have therefore to place each of these incidents either before September 39 or after May 40.

Now if we took Josephus's (*Ant.* xviii. 261-308) account, we should place them all at the later date. According to him Gaius had written to Petronius cancelling the order for the statue before he received Petronius's apologetic letter, but this enraged him so much that he sent a violent reprimand which being delayed on the way did not reach Petronius till two months after the assassination, *i.e.* in March 41. Mr. Balsdon^a arguing for the arrival of the ambassadors in 40 gives careful calculations to show, that if we accept this story, the whole of the correspondence from the first report to Gaius of the Jamneian incident to the final letter to Petronius can be got in after his return in May 40, though this perhaps is unnecessary for his purpose, since part of it might have been carried on while Gaius was in the north, though it only became known to Philo after his return.^b Is there anything in Philo's account which conflicts with the view that the Embassy arrived in 40? Apart from the general probability that it would be undertaken as soon as possible after Flaccus's arrest in September 38 and not be postponed for more than a

^a *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. xxiv. p. 19.

^b Mr. Balsdon assumes that the order had just been given, when Philo heard of it at Puteoli. It seems to me more natural to suppose that the news travelled to him from Palestine, and that the matter may have been far advanced before he heard of it.

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year, there is only one serious fact to be reckoned with. While Josephus speaks of the recalcitrant Jews as neglecting their tilling though it was the season for sowing, Philo says that Petronius, after receiving the order and spending some considerable time in trying to talk over the chief Jews and in meeting the great body of the people, proceeded to write his letter recommending postponement of the installation of the statue and gave as one of his reasons that the sown crops were now ripe and he feared that the Jews might ravage them as well as the fruit trees later. That is to say this letter was written between April and June. Mr Balsdon meets this by suggesting that the crops are the spring sown crops. I do not know whether this is agriculturally sound, but I think that anyone who reads through the second book of the *Special Laws* with its account of the ripening of the crops and fruits and their adjustment to the various feasts will find it difficult to believe that Philo meant by what he calls τὰ θέρη anything but the autumn sown crops. At any rate this is what his readers would inevitably infer. If this is so, and if Petronius's letter was written not later than June,^a the order must have been given some time earlier while Gaius was still in the north. This does not prove that the ambassadors did not arrive in the spring of 40, but at any rate the suggestion that the whole of the affair can be concentrated into the eight months between Gaius's return and his death must be given up.

^a Philo is, I think, the better authority. He need not have had any authentic knowledge of Petronius's correspondence, but he would hardly put into his mouth a statement conflicting with dates which were known to him by personal experience.

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I suggest as an alternative the following scheme for consideration. The ambassadors sailed in the winter of 38–39, arrived at Rome in the spring, and after looking about them for some time were met and greeted by Gaius and later heard the story of the proposed outrage before he left Italy. Meanwhile he had heard of the Jamneian incident, had sent his first order to Petronius but was not aware of the opposition till he got the letter pleading for delay. He replied to this acquiescing in some delay though maintaining his purpose. When was it that Agrippa intervened? If Josephus is to be believed, it would be before Gaius left Italy, since he says that Agrippa was then staying at Rome, though as far as Philo's story is concerned it might have been while he was at Lyons at the end of the year.^a It was after his return in the next May or later that he granted the interview to the ambassadors.^b

For it seems to me that the most certain point in the controversy is that the interview occurred after the whole of the affair of the statue had died down. If we are to give any weight to Philo's account I cannot conceive that the conference should have taken the form described and that Gaius should have merely censured the Jews for their refusal to acknowledge his deity and their offering sacrifices

^a The statement of Dio lix. 24. 1 that people at Rome were disturbed to hear that Agrippa was in Gaius's company (*συνείναι*) seems to apply to the time of his absence from Italy.

^b The statement about the sacrifices (356) points, I think, to the same. If they were carried out at Jerusalem (see note to § 356), this would most likely be when the expedition was well afoot. And even if it was somewhat earlier, time must be allowed for the ambassadors to know that they had been offered.

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for him and not to him, if he was boiling with rage at the threat of a national insurrection, or that he should have dismissed them with the comparatively kindly remark that they were more fools than knaves. And if so we can hardly find time for the interview before Gaius's departure in September 39. That there should have been a delay of many months was natural in any case, since the Jews at any rate would not during the crisis press their case, in which, as Philo himself says, §§ 190 ff., they would be at a hopeless disadvantage, but it became inevitable from the simple reason that Gaius was inaccessible.

Of course this scheme involves throwing Josephus over. If it is right, he was mistaken, not only in placing the crisis at seed time instead of harvest, but also in bringing the events into so close a connexion with the death of Gaius. This is certainly a serious and some may think a fatal objection and therefore I only put it forward for consideration; the question is one, I think, on which certainty is unobtainable.

INTRODUCTION TO INDICES

I HAVE tried to make it as easy as possible for the reader to find what he wants. In this the Editors and the Printer have given me every assistance. Some of the abbreviations used for Philo's treatises are confusing for those not familiar with his works, and so I have adopted ones which will, I hope, be readily understood. It is likely that many will wish to use the Index who do not possess a set of the Loeb edition of Philo, and so I have given the references to chapters, rather than to pages. Roman numerals indicate the Loeb volume, the "n" or "nn" stands for "footnote(s)," the capital "N" or "NN" for the additional notes given by the Translators at the end of the volume. To give an example :

V. *Mut.* 63f, *Som.* i. 192, ii. 70 & N, VI. *Abr.* 12 & n, 57, 73nn

means Loeb Philo volume V, *De Mutatione Nominum*, chapters 63 and 64, *De Somniis*, First Treatise, chapter 192, Second Treatise, chapter 70 and the Additional Note thereto, Volume VI, *De Abrahamo*, chapter 12 and the footnote thereto, chapter 57, and the footnotes to chapter 73. I have avoided "ff" as much as possible, since in Philo that might stand for two chapters or twenty. Occasionally round brackets have been placed round a reference to indicate that

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there is no direct allusion in those chapters or that it is too trivial to be studied.

In the Scripture Index the alignment of chapters and verses has been designed to help the reader's eye. Where there is a divergence in numeration between the Septuagint and the English Versions, this has been indicated ; the reader is warned, however, that the Translators were not consistent and that there will sometimes be a discrepancy between their references and mine.

In compiling the Index to Names and Places in Philo's text I have had in mind the reader who recalls a passage without remembering where it occurs. To trace some such recollections in an author like Philo might take hours, even days ; I have therefore given a summary of what Philo has to say about the commoner figures or places. Sometimes this may contribute something new to the understanding of Philo's interpretations, but the summaries are deliberately concerned with Philo's language more than with the philosophical background of his thought, and I hope that scholars will not expect more from them than that.

In the Index to the Translators' Notes I have marked with an asterisk those names that also occur in the text of Philo and therefore in the Index of Names. There is no need to distinguish them there, since references to notes are included. I had thought of compiling a fourth index to comprise all notes concerned only with the text adopted ; but I have decided to include this in this third index. The reader who wishes to study textual readings will find that these have been included under the names of the several previous editors of Philo—Yonge, Mangey,

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Cohn and Wendland, Heinemann, etc.—and, for the Loeb edition, *s.v.* Translators. Mr Colson himself listed the Translators' own readings in Supplements at the end of vols. V (for I-V) and VI ; for subsequent volumes the reader is referred to what I have listed, but my list includes not only new readings adopted by the Translators but also the many more tentative suggestions made by them in the footnotes or Additional Notes.

Finally, I know very well that these indices cannot be exhaustive, and I should welcome notice of any mistakes or omissions, so that these may be corrected in any later edition.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Abr.* = *De Abrahamo*
- Aet.* = *De Aeternitate Mundi*
- Agr.* = *De Agricultura*
- Cher.* = *De Cherubim*
- Conf.* = *De Confusione Linguarum*
- Congr.* = *De Congressu Eruditionis gratia*
- Decal.* = *De Decalogo*
- Det.* = *Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet*
- Ebr.* = *De Ebrietate*
- Flacc.* = *In Flaccum*
- Fug.* = *De Fuga et Inventione*
- Gig.* = *De Gigantibus*
- Hyp.* = *Hypothetica*
- Jos.* = *De Josepho*
- Leg.* = *De Legatione ad Gaium*
- Leg. All.* i, ii, iii = *Legum Allegoriarum*
- Mig.* = *De Migratione Abrahami*
- Mos.* i, ii = *De Vita Mosis*
- Mut.* = *De Mutatione Nominum*

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Op. = *De Opificio Mundi*
Plant. = *De Plantatione*
Post. = *De Posteritate Caini*
Praem. = *De Praemiis et Poenis*
Prov. = *De Providentia*
Quis Her. = *Quis rerum divinarum Heres sit*
Quod Deus = *Quod Deus sit Immutabilis*
Quod Omn. Prob. = *Quod omnis Probus liber*
Sac. = *De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*
Sob. = *De Sobrietate*
Som. i, ii = *De Somniis*
Spec. Leg. i, ii, iii, iv = *De Specialibus Legibus*
Virt. = *De Virtute*
Vit. Cont. = *De Vita Contemplativa*

LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES IN THIS EDITION

VOLUME

- I. On the Creation (*De Opificio Mundi*)
Allegorical Interpretation (*Legum Allegoriae*)
- II. On the Cherubim (*De Cherubim*)
On the Sacrifices of Abel and Cain (*De Sacrificiis Abelis et Caini*)
The Worse attacks the Better (*Quod Deterius Potiori insidiari solet*)
On the Posterity and Exile of Cain (*De Posteritate Caini*)
On the Giants (*De Gigantibus*)
- III. On the Unchangeableness of God (*Quod Deus immutabilis sit*)
On Husbandry (*De Agricultura*)
On Noah's Work as a Planter (*De Plantatione*)
On Drunkenness (*De Ebrietate*)
On Sobriety (*De Sobrietate*)
- IV. On the Confusion of Tongues (*De Confusione Linguarum*)
On the Migration of Abraham (*De Migratione Abrahami*)
Who is the Heir (*Quis Rerum Divinarum Heres*)
On the Preliminary Studies (*De Congressu quaerendae Eruditionis gratia*)
- V. On Flight and Finding (*De Fuga et Inventione*)
On the Change of Names (*De Mutatione Nominum*)
On Dreams (*De Somniis*)
- VI. On Abraham (*De Abrahamo*)
On Joseph (*De Iosepho*)
Moses (*De Vita Mosis*)

LIST OF PHILO'S WORKS

VOLUME

- VII. On the Decalogue (De Decalogo)
On the Special Laws Books I-III (De Specialibus Legibus)
- VIII. On the Special Laws Book IV (De Specialibus Legibus)
On the Virtues (De Virtutibus)
On Rewards and Punishments (De Praemiis et Poenis)
- IX. Every Good Man is Free (Quod Omnis Probus Liber sit)
On the Contemplative Life (De Vita Contemplativa)
On the Eternity of the World (De Aeternitate Mundi)
Flaccus (In Flaccum)
Hypothetica ¹ (Apologia pro Iudaeis)
On Providence ¹ (De Providentia)
- X. On the Embassy to Gaius (De Legatione ad Gaium)
- GENERAL INDEX TO VOLUMES I-X

SUPPLEMENT

- I. Questions and Answers on Genesis ² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Genesin)
- II. Questions and Answers on Exodus ² (Quaestiones et Solutiones in Exodum)
- GENERAL INDEX TO SUPPLEMENTS I-II

¹ Only two fragments extant.
² Extant only in an Armenian version.

ON THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS
(THE FIRST PART OF THE TREATISE
ON VIRTUES)
(DE VIRTUTIBUS PRIMA PARS, QUOD
EST DE LEGATIONE AD GAIUM)

ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ Ο ΕΣΤΙ
ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΠΡΕΣΒΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΓΑΙΟΝ

[545] I. | Ἄχρι τίνος ἡμεῖς οἱ γέροντες ἔτι παῖδές
¹ ἔσμεν, τὰ μὲν σώματα χρόνου μήκει πολιοί, τὰς
 δὲ ψυχὰς ὑπ' ἀναισθησίας κομιδῇ νήπιοι, νομί-
 ζοντες τὸ μὲν ἀσταθμητότατον, τὴν τύχην, ἀκλι-
 νέστατον, τὸ δὲ παγιώτατον, τὴν φύσιν, ἀβεβαιό-
 τατον; ὑπαλλαττόμεθα γὰρ καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς
 πεττεῖαις τὰς πράξεις μετατιθέντες, οἰόμενοι τὰ
 μὲν τυχερὰ μόνιμώτερα εἶναι τῶν φύσει, τὰ δὲ
² κατὰ φύσιν ἀβεβαιότερα τῶν τυχηρῶν. αἴτιον δὲ
 τὸ τὰ παρόντα βραβεύειν ἄπροοράτως τῶν μελλόν-
 των ἔχοντας, αἰσθήσει πεπλανημένη χρωμένους
 πρὸ διανοίας ἀπλανοῦς· ὀφθαλμοῖς μὲν γὰρ τὰ ἐν
 φανερῷ καὶ ἐν χερσὶ καταλαμβάνεται, λογισμὸς
 [546] δὲ φθάνει καὶ πρὸς τὰ | ἀόρατα καὶ μέλλοντα, οὗ
 τὴν ὄψιν ὀξυωπεστέραν οὖσαν τῆς δι' ὀμμάτων
 σώματος ἀμαυροῦμεν, οἱ μὲν ἀκράτῳ καὶ πλη-
 σμοναῖς ὑποσυγγέοντες, οἱ δὲ τῷ μεγίστῳ τῶν
³ κακῶν, ἀμαθία. πλὴν ὁ παρῶν καιρὸς
 καὶ αἱ κατ' αὐτὸν κριθεῖσαι πολλαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι
 ὑποθέσεις, κἂν εἰ ἄπιστοι γεγónασι τινες τοῦ προ-

¹ Perhaps read *θεραπεύειν* as Mangey suggests. See note α.

ON THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS

(THE FIRST PART OF THE TREATISE ON VIRTUES)

I. How long shall we the aged continue to be ¹ children grown grey in our bodies through length of years, but infants in our souls through want of sense, holding fortune, the most unstable of things, to be the most unchangeable, nature, the most constant, to be the most insecure? For we change our actions about from place to place as on a draught board, and fortune's gifts seem to us more permanent than nature's, nature's more insecure than fortune's. The reason is that, having no forethought for the ² future, we are ruled^a by the present, following erratic sense-perception rather than unerring intelligence. For the eyes of the body discern what is manifest and close at hand, but reason reaches to the unseen and the future. Reason's vision, which is keener than the vision of the bodily eyes, we bedim and confuse, some with strong drink and surfeiting, others with that worst of evils, ignorance. And yet ³ the present time and the many important questions decided in it are strong enough to carry conviction even if some have come to disbelieve that the Deity

^a This use of *πραβεύειν* is doubtful, since when transitive it is usually applied to contests, suits and the like. If *θεραπεύειν* is read *ἐχόντας* is of course the subject.

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νοεῖν τὸ θεῖον ἀνθρώπων, καὶ μάλιστα τοῦ ἱκετικοῦ
γένους, ὃ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ βασιλεῖ τῶν ὅλων καὶ
πάντων αἰτίῳ προσκεκλήρωται, ἱκαναὶ [τοῦ] πείσαι
4 αὐτούς. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος Χαλδαῖστί μὲν Ἰσραὴλ
καλεῖται, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ ἐρμηνευθέντος τοῦ ὀνόματος
“ὁρῶν θεόν,” ὃ μοι δοκεῖ πάντων χρημάτων ἰδίων
5 τε καὶ κοινῶν εἶναι τιμιώτατον. εἰ γὰρ πρεσβυ-
τέρων ἢ ὑφηγητῶν ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ γονέων ὅψις κινεῖ
τοὺς βλέποντας πρὸς αἰδῶ καὶ εὐκοσμίαν καὶ σώ-
φρονος βίου ζῆλον, πόσον τι νομίζομεν ἀρετῆς ἔρμα
καὶ καλοκαγαθίας ἀνευρήσειν¹ ἐν ψυχαῖς, αἱ τὸ
γενητὸν πᾶν ὑπερκύψασαι τὸ ἀγέννητον καὶ θεῖον
ὁρᾶν πεπαιδεύονται, τὸ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν καὶ καλὸν
καὶ εὐδαιμον καὶ μακάριον, εἰ <δὲ> δεῖ τὰληθές
εἰπεῖν, τὸ κρεῖττον μὲν ἀγαθοῦ, κάλλιον δὲ καλοῦ,
καὶ μακαριότητος μὲν μακαριώτερον, εὐδαιμονίας
δὲ αὐτῆς εὐδαιμονέστερον, καὶ εἰ δὴ τι τῶν εἰρη-
6 μένων τελειότερον. οὐ γὰρ φθάνει προσαναβαίνειν
ὁ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸν ἄψαυστον καὶ ἀναφῇ πάντῃ θεόν,
ἀλλ’ ὑπονοσθεῖ καὶ ὑπορρεῖ κυρίοις ὀνόμασιν ἀδυνα-
τῶν ἐπιβάθρα χρῆσθαι πρὸς δῆλωσιν, οὐ λέγω τοῦ
ὄντος—οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ σύμπας οὐρανὸς ἕναρθρος φωνῇ
γενόμενος εὐθυβόλων καὶ εὐσκόπων εἰς τοῦτο ἂν
εὐποροίῃ ῥημάτων—ἀλλὰ τῶν δορυφόρων αὐτοῦ
δυνάμεων, κοσμοποιητικῆς τε καὶ βασιλικῆς καὶ
προνοητικῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσαι εὐεργετίδες τε

¹ MSS. ἀνεύρεσιν.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 3-6

takes thought for men, and particularly for the sup-
pliants' race which the Father and King of the
Universe and the Source of all things has taken for
his portion. Now this race is called in the Hebrew ⁴
tongue Israel, but, expressed in our tongue, the word
is "he that sees God" and to see Him seems to me
of all possessions, public or private, the most
precious. For if the sight of seniors or instructors or ⁵
rulers or parents stirs the beholders to respect for
them and decent behaviour and the desire to live a
life of self-control, how firmly based is the virtue and
nobility of conduct which we may expect to find in
souls whose vision has soared above all created
things and schooled itself to behold the uncreated
and divine, the primal good, the excellent, the
happy, the blessed, which may truly be called better
than the good, more excellent than the excellent,
more blessed than blessedness, more happy than
happiness itself, and any perfection there may be
greater than these. For reason^a cannot attain to ⁶
ascend to God, who nowhere can be touched or
handled, but subsides and ebbs away unable to find
the proper words by which it may approach to ex-
pound, I do not say the God who is, for if the whole
Heaven should become an articulate voice, it would
lack the apt and appropriate terms needed for this,
but even for God's attendant powers. Such are the
creative, the kingly, the providential, and of the
others all that are both beneficial and punitive,

^a *i.e.* those who infer the existence of God and His Powers
from His created works have an apprehension inferior to the
higher intuition of the Israel-soul. *Cf. De Praem.* 40-46 and
Leg. All. iii. 97-99. Mangey understands λόγος as language
(*sermo*), which is perhaps more in accordance with the words
that follow, but not so Philonic in thought.

7 καὶ κολαστήριοι, εἰ¹ καὶ τὰς κολαστηρίους ἐν εὐεργέτισι τακτέον, οὐ μόνον ἐπειδὴ νόμων καὶ θεσμῶν εἰσι μοῖραι—νόμος γὰρ ἐκ δυοῖν συμπληροῦσθαι πέφυκε, τιμῆς ἀγαθῶν καὶ πονηρῶν κολάσεως,—ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἡ κόλασις νουθετεῖ καὶ σωφρονίζει πολλάκις μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας, εἰ δὲ μή, πάντως γοῦν τοὺς πλησιάζοντας· αἱ γὰρ ἐτέρων τιμωρίαι βελτιοῦσι τοὺς πολλοὺς φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ παραπλήσια παθεῖν.²

8 II. Τίς γὰρ ἰδὼν Γάιον μετὰ τὴν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος τελευτὴν παρειληφότα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἀστασίαστον καὶ εὐνομον καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς μέρεσιν ἡρμοσμένην εἰς τὸ σύμφωνον, ἑώοις, ἑσπερίοις, μεσημβρινοῖς, ἀρκτικοῖς—τοῦ [547] μὲν βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τῷ | Ἑλληνικῷ, τοῦ δ' Ἑλληνικοῦ τῷ βαρβαρικῷ, καὶ τοῦ μὲν στρατιωτικοῦ τῷ κατὰ πόλεις, τοῦ δὲ πολιτικοῦ τῷ στρατευομένῳ συμφρονήσαντος εἰς μετουσίαν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν εἰρήνης—οὐκ ἐθαύμασε καὶ κατεπλάγη τῆς ὑπερ-
9 φυοῦς καὶ παντὸς λόγου κρείττονος εὐπραγίας, ἐξ ἐτοίμου τὰγαθὰ ἀθρόα σωρηδὸν κεκληρονομηκότα, παμπληθεῖς θησαυροὺς χρημάτων, ἄργυρον καὶ χρυσόν, τὸν μὲν ὡς ὕλην, τὸν δὲ ὡς νόμισμα, τὸν δὲ ὡς προκόσμημα³ δι' ἐκπωμάτων καὶ τινων ἐτέρων ἃ πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν τεχνιτεύεται, παμπληθεῖς δυνάμεις, πεζάς, ἵππικάς, ναυτικές, προσόδους ὥσπερ ἐκ πηγῶν ἀενάῳ τινὶ φορᾷ χορηγουμένας,

¹ A has εἰ μὴ (so Mangey), but as ὅσα . . . τε has already identified the two, the doubt expressed in εἰ μὴ is out of place. Cf. note a.

² Reiter here notes a lacuna. See Introd. pp. xxii.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 7-10

assuming that^a the punitive are to be classed among 7 the beneficial, not only on the ground that they are a part of laws and statutes, since no law can be complete unless it includes two provisions—honours for things good and punishment for things evil, but because the punishment of others often admonishes offenders and calls them to wisdom, or, certainly at any rate, their neighbours. For penalties are good for the morals of the multitude, who fear to suffer the like.

II. For who that saw Gaius when after the death 8 of Tiberius he succeeded to the sovereignty of the whole earth and sea, gained not by faction but established by law, with all parts, east, west, south, north, harmoniously adjusted, the Greek in full agreement with the barbarian, the civil with the military, to enjoy and participate in peace—who I say was not filled with admiration and astonishment at his prodigious and indescribable prosperity? He found 9 ready in hand a mass of accumulated goods, gold and silver, which he had inherited, some in bullion, some in specie, some as ornaments in the form of drinking-cups and other things which craftsmanship produces for display; vast forces of infantry, cavalry, ships, revenues supplied like a perennial stream flowing from a fountain; a dominion not confined to the 10

^a Cf. *De Conf.* 171 δυνάμεις ἀρωγοὺς καὶ σωτηρίους τοῦ γενομένου πάσας, αἷς ἐμφέρονται καὶ αἱ κολαστήριοι· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ κόλασις οὐκ ἐπιζήμιον, ἀμαρτημάτων οὕσα κώλυσις καὶ ἐπανόρθωσις.

³ MSS. προβόσκημα.

- 10 ἀρχὴν οὐχὶ τῶν πλείστων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων μερῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης, ἀ δὴ καὶ κυρίως ἂν τις οἰκουμένην εἴποι, δυσὶ ποταμοῖς ὀριζομένην, Εὐφράτῃ τε καὶ Ῥήνῳ, τῷ μὲν ἀποτεμνομένῳ Γερμανίαν καὶ ὅσα θηριωδέστερα ἔθνη, Εὐφράτῃ δὲ Παρθυηνὴν καὶ τὰ Σαρματῶν γένη καὶ Σκυθῶν, ἅπερ οὐχ ἦττον ἐξηγγρίωται τῶν Γερμανικῶν, ἀλλ', ὥς εἶπον ἤδη, τὴν ἀφ' ἡλίου ἀνιόντος ἄχρι δυομένου τὴν τε ἐντὸς ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ὑπερωκεάνιον; ἐφ' οἷς ὁ τε Ῥωμαίων δῆμος ἐγεγῆθει καὶ πᾶσα Ἰταλία
- 11 τὰ τε Ἀσιανὰ καὶ Εὐρωπαϊα ἔθνη. ὥς γὰρ ἐπ' οὐδενὶ τῶν πώποτε γενομένων αὐτοκρατόρων ἅπαντες ἠγάσθησαν, κτῆσιν καὶ χρήσιν ἰδίων τε καὶ κοινῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐλπίζοντες ἕξειν, ἀλλ' ἔχειν ἤδη νομίζοντες πλήρωμά τινος εὐτυχίας, ἐφεδρευ-
- 12 ούσης εὐδαιμονίας. οὐδὲν γοῦν ἦν ἰδεῖν ἕτερον κατὰ πόλεις ἢ βωμούς, ἱερεῖα, θυσίας, λευχειμονούντας, ἐστεφανωμένους, φαιδρούς, εὐμένειαν ἐξ ἱλαρᾶς τῆς ὀψεως προφαίνοντας, ἐορτάς, πανηγύρεις, μουσικοὺς ἀγῶνας, ἵπποδρομίας, κώμους, παννυχίδας μετ' αὐλῶν καὶ κιθάρας, τέρψεις, ἀνέσεις, ἐκεχειρίας, παντοίας ἡδονὰς διὰ πάσης αἰ-
- 13 σθήσεως. τότε οὐ πλούσιοι πενήτων προύφερον, οὐκ ἔνδοξοι ἀδόξων, οὐ δανεισταὶ χρεωστῶν, οὐ δεσπότης δούλων περιῆσαν, ἰσονομίαν τοῦ καιροῦ διδόντος, ὥς τὸν παρὰ ποιηταῖς ἀναγραφέντα Κρονικὸν βίον μηκέτι νομίζεσθαι πλάσμα μύθου διὰ τε τὴν εὐθηνίαν καὶ εὐετηρίαν τό τε ἄλυπον καὶ ἄφοβον καὶ τὰς πανοικίας ὁμοῦ καὶ πανδήμους

^a Lit. "the most and most necessary." For this frequent coupling of *πλείστα* with another superlative see note on *Flaccus* 46 (vol. ix. p. 326).

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 10-13

really vital parts which make up most^a of the inhabited world, and indeed may properly bear that name, the world, that is, which is bounded by the two rivers, the Euphrates and the Rhine, the one dissevering us from the Germans and all the more brutish nations, the Euphrates from the Parthians and from the Sarmatians and Scythians, races which are no less savage than the Germans, but a dominion extending, as I said above, from the rising to the setting sun both within the ocean and beyond it. All these things were a joy to the Roman people and all Italy and the nations of Europe and Asia; not so much had they all exulted over any of his imperial predecessors. It was not now a matter of hoping that they would have the possession and use of good things public and private; they considered that they had already the plenitude as it were of good fortune with happiness waiting in its train. Thus nothing was to be seen throughout the cities but altars, oblations, sacrifices, men in white robes and crowned with garlands, bright and smart, their cheery faces beaming with goodwill, feasts, assemblages, musical contests, horse races, revels, nightlong frolics with harp and flutes, jollification, unrestraint, holiday-keeping, every kind of pleasure ministered by every sense. In these days the rich had no precedence over the poor, nor the distinguished over the obscure, creditors were not above debtors, nor masters above slaves, the times giving equality before the law. Indeed, the life under Saturn, pictured by the poets, no longer appeared to be a fabled story, so great was the prosperity and well-being, the freedom from grief and fear, the joy which pervaded households and people,

μεθ' ἡμέραν τε καὶ νύκτωρ εὐφροσύνας, αἱ μέχρι
 [548] μηνῶν ἑπτὰ τῶν πρώτων ἄπαυστοι καὶ συνεχεῖς |
 14 ἐγένοντο. τῷ δὲ ὀγδόῳ κατασκήπτει

βαρεῖα νόσος τῷ Γαῖῳ τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ δίαιταν,
 ὅτε ἕξῃ Τιβέριος, εὐκολωτέραν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
 ὑγιεινότεραν οὔσαν εἰς πολυτέλειαν μεθαρμοσα-
 μένῳ. πολὺς γὰρ ἄκρατος καὶ ὀψοφαγίαι καὶ ἐπὶ
 πλήρεσι τοῖς ὄγκοις ἀπλήρωτοι ἐπιθυμῖαι θερμο-
 λουσίαι τε ἄκαιροι καὶ ἔμετοι καὶ εὐθύς πάλιν
 οἰνοφλυγίαι καὶ ἔφεδροι γαστριμαργίαι, λαγνεῖαι
 διὰ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα καθαιρε-
 τικὰ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος καὶ τῶν ἐν ἑκατέρῳ
 δεσμῶν συνεπέθετο. τὰ δὲ ἐπιχειρα ἐγκρατείας
 μὲν ὑγεία καὶ ἰσχύς, ἀκρασίας δὲ ἀσθένεια καὶ
 νόσος γειννῶσα θανάτῳ.

15 III. Διαγγελείσης οὖν τῆς ὅτι νοσεῖ φήμης, ἔτι
 πλοῦτων ὄντων—ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἦν μετοπώρου, τελευ-
 ταῖος πλοῦς τοῖς θαλαττεύουσιν, ἀπὸ τῶν παντα-
 χόθεν ἐμπορίων εἰς τοὺς οἰκείους λιμένας καὶ
 ὑποδρόμους ἐπανιοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα οἷς πρόνοια
 τοῦ μὴ διαχειμάζειν ἐπὶ ξένης ἐστὶ—μεθέμενοι τὸν
 ἀβροδίατον βίον ἐσκυθρώπαζον, συννοίας τε καὶ
 κατηφείας πᾶσα οἰκία καὶ πόλις γεγένητο μεστή,
 ἰσορρόπῳ λύπῃ τῆς πρὸ μικροῦ χαρᾶς ἀμφικλινοῦς
 16 γενομένης. τὰ γὰρ μέρη πάντα τῆς οἰκουμένης

αὐτῷ συνενόσησε, βαρυτέρα νόσῳ χρησάμενα τῆς
 κατασχούσης Γάιον· ἐκείνη μὲν γὰρ σώματος ἦν
 αὐτὸ μόνον, ἡ δὲ τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων, ψυχικῆς
 εὐσθενείας, εἰρήνης, ἐλπίδων, μετουσίας καὶ ἀπο-
 17 λαύσεως ἀγαθῶν. ἀνεπόλουν γὰρ ὅσα καὶ ἡλίκα

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 13-17

night and day, and lasted continuously without a break through the first seven months.

But in the eighth month Gaius was struck down by 14 severe sickness. He had exchanged the recent more homely and, therefore, healthier way of life which he had followed while Tiberius was alive, for one of extravagance. Hard drinking, luxurious feeding and appetites still unsatisfied when the cavities were stuffed full, hot baths, ill-timed, and acting as emetics, followed at once by renewed toping and gormandizing in its train, lasciviousness venting itself on boys and women, and everything else that can destroy soul and body and the bonds in both which keep them together, joined in the assault. Self-restraint is rewarded by strength and health, incontinence by infirmity and sickness bordering on death.

III. The news of Gaius's illness travelled every- 15 where, since the time still made navigation possible. For it was the beginning of autumn, the close of the sailing season when the mariners return from their trading ports everywhere to their own harbours and roadsteads, particularly those who take care not to winter in a foreign country. So people abandoned their luxurious life and became dismal. Every household and city was filled with anxiety and dejection, their recent joy being counter-balanced by a grief no less intense. For every part of the habitable world 16 shared his sickness, and theirs was a sickness more grievous than that which overcame him. His was of the body only, theirs was felt by all and everywhere, affecting the well-being of the soul, their peace, their hopes and participation and enjoyment of every good thing. Thoughts of the many great evils which 17

- κακὰ ἐξ ἀναρχίας φύεται· λιμόν, πόλεμον, δενδροτομίας, δηώσεις χωρίων, στερήσεις χρημάτων, ἀπαγωγάς, τοὺς περὶ δουλείας καὶ θανάτου φόβους ἀνηκέστους, ὧν ἰατρὸς ἦν οὐδεὶς, μίαν ἐχόντων
- 18 θεραπείαν τὸ ῥωσθῆναι Γάιον. ὅτε γοῦν ἤρξατο λωφᾶν ἡ νόσος, ἐν βραχεὶ καὶ οἱ μέχρι περάτων συνήσθοντο—φήμης γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠκύτερον—, καὶ μετέωρος πᾶσα πόλις ἦν ἀκοῆς ἀεὶ διψῶσα βελτίονος, ἕως διὰ τῶν ἐπιφοιτῶντων παντελὲς ῥώσις εὐηγγελίσθη, δι' ἣν πάλιν ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς ἐτρέποντο θυμηδίας, ἰδίαν ἑαυτῶν νομίζουσαι σωτηρίαν πᾶσαι μὲν ἡπειροὶ πᾶσαι δὲ
- 19 νῆσοι. μέμνηται γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοσαύτην μιᾶς χώρας ἢ ἐνὸς ἔθνους γενέσθαι χαρὰν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ καὶ καταστάσει ἡγεμόνος, ὅσῃν ἐπὶ Γαίῳ συμπάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ
- 20 ῥωσθέντι ἐκ τῆς ἀσθενείας. ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐκ νομάδος βίου καὶ θηριώδους νῦν πρῶτον ἀρχόμενοι μετα-
- [549] βάλλειν πρὸς τὸ σύννομον καὶ | ὁμοδίαιτον καὶ ἐξ ἐρημίας καὶ σηκῶν καὶ ὑπωρειῶν εἰσοικίζεσθαι πόλεσι τειχήρεσι καὶ ἐξ ἀνεπιτροπεύτου ζωῆς ὑπὸ ἐπιτρόπῳ τάττεσθαι νομεῖ τινι καὶ ἀγελάρχη τῆς ἡμερωτέρας ἀγέλης ἐγεγῆθσαν ἀγνοία τῆς ἀλη-
- 21 θείας· τυφλώττει γὰρ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς πρὸς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὄντως αἴσθησιν εἰκασία καὶ στοχασμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμῃ χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος.
- 22 IV. Εὐθύς γοῦν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ὁ σωτὴρ καὶ εὐεργέτης εἶναι νομισθεὶς καὶ τινὰς ἀγαθῶν πηγὰς νέας ἐπομβρήσειν Ἀσίᾳ τε καὶ Εὐρώπῃ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ἀκαθαίρετον, ἰδίᾳ τε ἐκάστῳ καὶ πᾶσι

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 17-22

spring from anarchy occupied their mind: famine, war, ravaging, devastation of estates, loss of property, abductions, fears of enslavement and death, so deadly that no physician could cure them and the only remedy lay in the recovery of Gaius. So when the 18 sickness began to abate, in quite a short time it was known even to the inhabitants of the ends of the world, for nothing is more speedy than rumour, and every city was on edge, ever craving for a better report until the good news of his complete recovery was announced by the travellers who arrived. At this every continent, every island, returned once more to its former happiness, for they felt that they personally shared in his preservation. For no one 19 remembers any single country or single nation feeling as much delight at the accession or preservation of a ruler, as was felt by the whole world in the case of Gaius, both when he succeeded to the sovereignty and when he recovered from his malady. They felt 20 as if they were beginning for the first time to change a nomadic and brutish for a social and gregarious life, or were passing from desolate life in pens and huts on a mountain side to be settled in a walled city, or from an existence unprotected by a guardian, to take their place under a guardian, a shepherd of the civilized flock. Such was their joy but they did not know the truth. The human mind in its blindness 21 does not perceive its real interest and all it can do is to take conjecture and guesswork for its guide instead of knowledge.

IV. So it was with Gaius. He who had been 22 recently regarded as a saviour and benefactor, who would pour new streams of blessings on Asia and Europe, giving happiness indestructible to each singly

PHILO

- κοινῇ, τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο “ ἀφ’ ἱερᾶς ἤρξατο ”¹
 μεταβαλὼν πρὸς τὸ ἀτίθασον, μᾶλλον δὲ ἦν συν-
 εσκίαζεν ἀγριότητα τῷ πλάσματι τῆς ὑποκρίσεως
 23 ἀναφήνας. τὸν γὰρ ἀνεψιὸν καὶ κοινωνὸν ἀπο-
 λειφθέντα τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ οἰκειότερον αὐτοῦ διάδοχον
 —ὁ μὲν γὰρ θέσει υἱωνὸς ἦν, ὁ δὲ φύσει Τιβερίου—
 κτείνει προφασισάμενος ἐπιβουλήν, μηδὲ τῆς ἡλι-
 κίας χωρούσης ἔγκλημα τοιοῦτον· ἄρτι γὰρ ἐκ
 24 παίδων εἰς μεираκίον ὁ δύστηνος μετῆι. καὶ ὥς
 γέ φασί τινες, εἰ βραχὺν ἐπεβίω χρόνον Τιβέριος,
 ὁ μὲν ἂν ἐκποδὼν ἐγεγένητο Γάιος, δι’ ὑποψιῶν
 κεχωρηκὼς ἀνηκέστων, ὁ δὲ γνήσιος υἱωνὸς μόνος
 ἀπεδέδεικτο ἡγεμὼν καὶ κληρονόμος τῆς παππῶας
 25 ἀρχῆς. ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης ἔφθη συν-
 αρπασθεῖς, πρὶν ἐπὶ τέλος ἀγαγεῖν τὰ βουλευμάτα·
 Γάιος δὲ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παραβαίνειν τὰ πρὸς τὸν
 κοινωνὸν δίκαια διαβολὴν ἐνόμιζεν ἀποδράσεσθαι
 26 καταστρατηγῶν. τὸ δὲ σόφισμα τοιοῦ-
 τον ἦν· συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἐν τέλει, “ βούλομαι μὲν,”
 ἔφη, “ τὸν γένει μὲν ἀνεψιὸν εὐνοία δὲ ἀδελφόν,
 ἐπόμενος καὶ τῇ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος Τιβερίου
 γνώμῃ, κοινοπραγεῖν τῆς αὐτοκρατοῦς ἐξουσίας·
 ὁρᾶτε δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ νήπιον ἔτι ὄντα κομιδῇ καὶ
 χρήζοντα ἐπιτρόπων καὶ διδασκάλων καὶ παιδα-
 27 γωγῶν. ἐπεὶ τί ἂν ἦν μείζον ἀγαθὸν ἢ τὰ τοσαῦτα
 βάρη τῆς ἡγεμονίας μὴ μίαν ψυχὴν ἢ σῶμα ἐν
 ἐπιχθίσθαι, ἀλλ’ ἔχειν τὸν δυνησόμενον ἐπελαφρί-
 ζειν καὶ συνεπικουφίζειν; ἐγὼ δέ,” ἔφη, “ παιδα-
 γωγούς καὶ διδασκάλους καὶ ἐπιτρόπους ὑπερ-

¹ Reiter “ ἀφ’ ἱερᾶς ” ἤρξατο. But ἤρξατο appears to be part of the proverbial phrase.

^a Lit. “ began from the sacred line.” This line is the last

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 22-27

and all in common, at once "ran amuck" as they say,^a changing to savagery, or rather revealing the brutality which he used to disguise under the mask of hypocrisy. His cousin, who had been left to share the 23 sovereignty and was more entitled by kinship to the succession, since Gaius was the grandson of Tiberius by adoption while the other was by blood, he put to death on the pretext of conspiracy, though his age in itself precluded such an accusation. For the poor youth was just emerging from boyhood into adolescence. And according to some, if Tiberius had 24 survived a little longer, Gaius would have been put out of the way, lying as he did under fatally damaging suspicions, and his real grandson would have been appointed sole ruler and heir to his grandfather's sovereignty. But Tiberius was snatched away by 25 fate before he had consummated his plans, while Gaius thought that by strategy he would escape the odium which dereliction in his duty to his partner would excite.

He employed the following 26 artifice. Having summoned the chief officials he said, "In accordance with the will of the deceased Tiberius I wish the imperial authority to be shared by him who is my cousin by birth but my brother by affection, though you see yourselves that he is still a mere child and needs guardians and teachers and tutors. For what greater boon could there be than 27 that a single soul or body should cease to be laden with the heavy burden of sovereignty and should have one who would be able to relieve and lighten them? And I," he continued, "will be more than a guardian, a tutor and a teacher. I will appoint

line of a chessboard, and the actions of anyone who went beyond it would naturally be all "at sea."

[550] βαλὼν ἑμαυτὸν μὲν ἤδη γράφω πατέρα, υἱὸν δὲ
 28 ἐκεῖνον.” V. | τούτοις καὶ τοὺς παρόν-

τας ἀπατήσας καὶ τὸ μεираκίον—δέλεαρ γὰρ ἦν ἡ
 θέσις οὐκ ἐλπιζομένης ἡγεμονίας, ἀλλ’ ἀφαιρέσεως
 ἧς εἶχεν ἡδὴ—τῷ συγκληρονόμῳ καὶ κοινωνῶ¹
 δικαίῳ μετὰ πολλῆς ἀδείας οὐδενὸς ἔτι πεφρον-
 τικῶς ἐπεβούλευεν. ἡ γὰρ υἱοῦ παντελὲς ἐξουσία
 κατὰ τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων νόμους ἀνάκειται πατρί,
 δίχα τοῦ καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὴν αὐτοκρά-
 29 τορα, μηδενὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁπωσοῦν πεπραγμένοις
 λόγον ἀπαιτεῖν τολμῶντος ἢ δυναμένου. τοῦτον
 μὲν δὴ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἔφεδρον ὑπολαβὼν
 εἶναι καταπαλαίει, μήτε συντροφίας μήτε οἰκειότη-
 τος μήτε ἡλικίας οἶκτον λαβὼν, δύστηνον, ὠκύ-
 μορον, συνάρχοντα, συγκληρονόμον, τὸν ἐλπισθέντα
 ποτὲ καὶ μόνον αὐτοκράτορα διὰ τὴν πρὸς Τιβέριον
 ἐγγυτάτῳ συγγένειαν· υἱῶν γὰρ πατέρων ἀπο-
 θανόντων ἐν υἱῶν τάξει παρὰ πάπποις καταριθ-
 30 μοῦνται. λέγεται δὲ ὅτι καὶ κελευσθεὶς

αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτείνειν ἑαυτόν, ἐφεστώτων ἑκατοντάρ-
 χου καὶ χιλιάρχου, οἷς εἴρητο μὴ συνεφάσθαι τοῦ
 ἄγους, ὥς οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτοκρατόρων ἀπογόνους πρὸς
 ἐτέρων ἀναιρεῖσθαι—νόμων γὰρ ἐν ἀνομίαις καὶ
 ὀσιότητος ἐν ἀνοσιουργίαις ἐμέμνητο κατειρωνευό-
 μενος τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας—, ἀπείρως ἔχων—
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἕτερόν τινα κτεινόμενον εἶδεν οὐδὲ ἡσκητό
 πω ταῖς ὀπλομαχίαις, αἱ μελέται καὶ προγυμνά-
 σματα παίδων ἐφ’ ἡγεμονία τρεφομένων εἰσὶ διὰ
 τοὺς ἐνισταμένους πολέμους—τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς
 ἦκοντας παρεκάλει τὸν αὐχένα προτείνας ἀνελεῖν.

¹ MSS. κοινωνῶν.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 27-30

myself to be his father and him to be my son."

V. With these words he deceived both 28 the audience and the lad. The adoption was a snare to assure not the sovereignty which he expected, but the loss of that which he held already. And Gaius proceeded to plot against his fellow-heir and true partner with full security and disregard of all opposition, for the Roman laws assign absolute power over the son to the father, not to mention his irresponsible authority as emperor, since no one had either the courage or the power to call him to account for his actions of any kind. As the victor in the arena throws to the 29 ground the one remaining champion, so dealt he, without pity for their fellowship in breeding, their kinship or his youth, with this unhappy lad, and sent to an early grave his co-regent, his co-heir who had been expected to be sole emperor as most nearly related to Tiberius, for grandsons when their fathers are dead hold the rank of sons in the eyes of their grandparents.

It is said, too, that the 30 boy was ordered to kill himself with his own hands under the superintendence of a centurion and a chiliarch, who had been instructed to take no hand in the sacrilege on the grounds that it was unlawful that the descendants of emperors should be slain by others. For amid his lawless and unsanctified deeds Gaius remembered law and sanctity, a travesty of their true nature. But the lad lacked skill to do the deed, for he had never seen anyone else killed and had not yet been practised in the martial exercises which in view of the imminent prospect of war are used to give preliminary training to those who are being brought up to rule. So at first he stretched out his neck to the emissaries present and bade them

- 31 ὥς δ' οὐχ ὑπέμενον, αὐτὸς λαβὼν τὸ ξίφος ἐπυνθά-
νετο τὸν καιριώτατον τόπον ὑπ' ἀγνοίας καὶ
ἀηθείας, ἵνα εὐσκόπῳ πληγῇ τὴν ἀθλίαν ζωὴν
ἀπορρήξῃ. καὶ οἱ μὲν οἶα διδάσκαλοι κακοδαι-
μονίας ὑφηγοῦντό τε καὶ ἐδείκνυσαν τὸ μέρος, ὥ
χρὴ τὸ ξίφος ἐπενεγκεῖν· ὁ δὲ πρώτην καὶ ὑστά-
την μάθησιν ἀναδιδαχθεὶς ἀνδροφόνος αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ
γίνεται βιασθεὶς, ὁ δύστηνος.
- 32 VI. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μέγιστος ἄθλος οὗτος
Γαῖῳ κατείργαστο, μηδενὸς ἔτι λειπομένου <κοινω-
νοῦ> τῆς ἡγεμονίας πρὸς ὃν ἀποκλινοῦσί τινες τῶν
ἐθελokaκούντων καὶ ἐν ὑποψίαις ὄντων, ἐπὶ δεύ-
τερον εὐθύς ἐκονίετο τὸν Μάκρωνος, ἀνδρὸς εἰς
[551] πάντα αὐτῷ | συναγωνισαμένου τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς, οὐ
μόνον ἀποδειχθέντι ἡγεμόνι—κολακείας γὰρ ἴδιον
τῆς εὐπραγίας θεραπεύειν—ἀλλὰ καὶ πρότερον εἰς
33 τὸ τυχεῖν τῆς ἡγεμονίας. ὁ γὰρ Τιβέριος φρονήσει
βαθείᾳ χρώμενος καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων
δεινότατος ὢν ἀφανὲς ἀνθρώπου βούλημα συνιδεῖν
καὶ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον συνέσει διενεγκών, ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ
εὐτυχία, πολλάκις ὑπεβλέπετο τὸν Γάιον ὡς κακό-
νον μὲν ἅπαντι τῷ Κλαυδίῳ οἴκῳ, προσκείμενον
δὲ μόνῳ τῷ μητρώῳ γένει—καὶ ἐδεδίει περὶ τοῦ
34 υἱοῦ, μὴ νέος ἀπολειφθεὶς παραπόληται—, πρὸς
δὲ ἀρχὴν καὶ τοσαύτην ἀνεπιτηδεύως ἔχοντα διὰ
τε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἄμικτον καὶ ἀκοινωνήτον καὶ
τὴν τῶν ἡθῶν ἀνωμαλίαν· ἀλλόκοτα γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ
ἐπιμανῇ κατεφαίνετο, μηδεμιᾶς σωζομένης ἀκολου-

^a §§ 32-65. For a very short account of Macro's services to Gaius and his subsequent fall see *Flaccus* 12-15.

^b As Gaius could claim through his mother, who was the

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 30-34

dispatch him, and when they could not bring them- 31
selves to do it, he took the sword himself and in his
ignorance and inexperience asked them what was
the most vital spot so that by a well-aimed blow he
might break the thread of his miserable life. And
they playing the part of preceptors in misery gave
their instructions and showed him the part to which
he should apply the sword, and having received this
first and last lesson he was forced to become his
own murderer, poor boy!

VI. ^a When Gaius had won this first and principal 32
bout and no partner in his sovereignty was still left
to divert the allegiance of ill-wishers and suspects, he
at once prepared for a second effort, this time against
Macro, who had been throughout his ally in estab-
lishing his power, not only after he was appointed
emperor (for flattery never fails to pay court to
success) but also earlier in helping him to get the
sovereignty. For Tiberius, who always acted with 33
profound prudence and was clever above all his con-
temporaries in divining a man's secret wishes, and
as much distinguished for shrewdness as for good
fortune, often looked on Gaius with disfavour as
being ill-disposed to the whole Claudian house and
attached only ^b to his mother's family, and he feared
for his grandson that if he was left alone when
young he might be made away with. Moreover he 34
doubted his fitness for an office of such magnitude,
both because of his unsociable and unfriendly nature
and also because of his erratic temperament, for he
showed abnormal and crazy tendencies and main-
daughter of Julia the daughter of Augustus, descent by birth
from Augustus, this might be supposed to weigh with him
more than his descent by adoption through his Claudian
father Germanicus.

- 35 θίας, μήτε ἐν λόγοις μήτε ἐν ἔργοις. ἃ παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον¹ ὁ Μάκρων ἐθεράπευε, τὰς μὲν ὑπονοίας τοῦ Τιβερίου καὶ ἐν οἷς μάλιστ' ἐδόκει τὴν διάνοιαν ἐλκοῦσθαι διὰ τὸν ἄληκτον ἐπὶ
- 36 τῷ υἱωνῷ φόβον ἐξιώμενος. εὖνουν γὰρ καὶ πειθαρχικὸν ἀπέφαινε τὸν Γάιον καὶ σφόδρα ἡττημένον τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ, ὡς ἔνεκα φιλοστοργίας καὶ μόνῳ ἂν ἐβελῆσαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπεκστῆναι· τὴν δὲ αἰδῶ μὴ λυσιτελῆσαι πολλοῖς, ὑφ' ἧς καὶ Γάιον
- 37 ἀπλοῦν ὄντα ποικίλον νομίζεσθαι. καὶ ὁπότε μὴ πείθῃ τὰ εἰκότα διεξιὼν, τὴν ἀπὸ συνθηκῶν <πίστιν> ἐπέφερεν, “ἐγγυῶμαι,” λέγων, “ἀξιοχρεῶς εἰμι πρὸς πίστιν· ἱκανὰς ἀποδείξεις δέδωκα τοῦ φιλόκαισαρ ἰδίως καὶ φιλοτιβέριος εἶναι, τὴν ἐπί-
- 38 θεσιν² καὶ καθαίρεσιν ἐγχειρισθεὶς Σηιανοῦ.” καὶ συνόλως δὲ ἱκανὸς ἦν ἐν τοῖς εἰς Γάιον ἐπαίνους, εἰ δεῖ καλεῖν ἀξίως³ ἐπαίνους⁴ τὰς ἀπολογίας, αἱ πρὸς τὰς ἐξ ὑπονοιῶν αἰτίας καὶ κατηγορίας ἀδήλους καὶ ἀσαφεῖς⁵ ἐγίνοντο· συνόλως γὰρ ὅσα περὶ ἀδελφῶν εἴποι τις ἂν ἢ υἱῶν γνησίων ἐγκώμια, τοσαῦτα καὶ ἔτι πλείω Μάκρων ὑπὲρ Γαΐου διεξήει
- 39 πρὸς Τιβέριον. αἷτιον δέ, ὡς ὁ τῶν πολλῶν λόγος, οὐ μόνον τὸ ἀντιθεραπεύεσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν Μάκρωνα, πλείστον ἢ καὶ σύμπαν ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ δυνάμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Μάκρωνος γυνὴ διὰ σωπωμένην αἰτίαν, ἢ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἥλειφε καὶ συνεκρότει τὸν ἄνδρα μηδὲν ἀνιέναι σπουδῆς καὶ βοηθείας τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεανίσκου.

¹ MSS. παρήκον.² MSS. ὑπόθεσιν.³ MSS. ἀξίας.⁴ MSS. ἐπαίνου.⁵ MSS. σαφεῖς.

^a According to Dio lvi. 28 and Tac. *Ann.* vi. 45, Macro connived at her seduction.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 34-39

tained no consistency in word or deed. These faults 35
Macro strove with all his might to remedy as opportunity offered and also to eradicate the suspicions of Tiberius on the subject which owing to his ceaseless fear for his grandson seemed to fester most in his mind. Macro represented him as well-disposed and 36
docile and so exceedingly devoted to the service of his cousin that family affection would make him willing to retire and leave him sole emperor. Modesty, he said, in many cases was a disadvantage, and it was his modesty which caused the simple-minded Gaius to be considered cunning. And when 37
the plausibility of his arguments failed to convince Tiberius he would pledge his credit for their truth. "I guarantee it," he said, "I have earned the right to be believed. I have given sufficient proof that I am in a special sense a friend of Caesar, a friend of Tiberius, when the task of attacking and destroying Sejanus was placed in my hand." And in general 38
he was successful with his eulogies of Gaius, if eulogies is a suitable name for the defences directed to meet the vague charges and accusations based on suspicion. For in general the terms in which one might speak in commendation of brothers or sons in the full sense were used in equal or even greater measure of Gaius by Macro, when pleading his cause to Tiberius.

This was due, according to what most 39
people said, not merely to the fact that Gaius in return courted the favour of Macro as possessing a predominant and, indeed, all-powerful influence in the government, but to Macro's wife, though the charge against her was not mentioned. She every day incited and worked upon her husband not to abate his zeal and assistance of the young Gaius.^a

- δεινὸν δὲ γυνὴ γνώμην ἀνδρὸς παραλῦσαι καὶ παραγαγεῖν, καὶ μάλιστα μαχλὰς· ἔνεκα γὰρ τοῦ
 40 συνειδότος κολακικωτέρα γίνεται. ὁ δὲ τὴν διαφθορὰν μὲν τοῦ γάμου καὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀγνοῶν,
 [552] τὴν | δὲ κολακείαν εὖνοϊαν ἀκραιφνεστάτην εἶναι νομίζων, ἀπατᾶται καὶ λανθάνει τοῖς στρατηγήμασι τοὺς ἐχθίστους ὡς φιλτάτους προσιέμενος.
- 41 VII. Εἰδὼς οὖν, ὅτι παρὰ μικρὸν ἐλθόντα μυριάκις αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι διέσωσεν, ἀνυπούλοις καὶ πεπαρησιασμέναις ἐχρῆτο ταῖς νουθεσίαις· ἐβούλετο γάρ, ὡς ἀγαθὸς δημιουργός, ἀκαθαίρετον διαμεῖναι τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον, μήτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δια-
 42 λυθὲν μήτε ὑφ' ἑτέρου. ὁπότε οὖν ἡ καταδαρθόντα¹ ἐν συμποσίῳ θεάσαιοτο, περιανίστη στοχαζόμενος ἅμα μὲν τοῦ πρέποντος ἅμα δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀσφαλείας—εὐεπιβούλευτον γὰρ ὁ κοιμώμενος—, ἢ τινὰς ἐκμανῶς ὀρχηστὰς ὀρῶντα ἢ ἔστιν ὅτε συνορχούμενον ἢ ἐπὶ μίμοις αἰσχροῦν καὶ σκωμμάτων μὴ ὑπομειδιῶντα σεμνότερον ἀλλὰ μεираκιωδέστερον καγχάζοντα ἢ κιθαρωδῶν ἢ χορῶν τῆς ἐμμελείας ἡττώμενον, ἔστιν ὅπου καὶ συνάδοντα, ἔνυττε πλησίον καθεζόμενος ἢ κατακεκλιμένος καὶ ἐπέχειν
 43 ἐπειράτο. πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἐπικλίνας πρὸς οὓς, ἵνα μὴ κατακούοι τις ἕτερος, ἡσύχῃ καὶ πράως ἐνουθέτει φάσκων· “οὐδενὶ τῶν παρόντων ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ὁμοιον εἶναί σε δεῖ, οὔτε ἐν θεάμασιν οὔτε ἐν ἀκούσμασιν οὔτε ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ὅσα κατὰ τὰς αἰσθήσεις, ἀλλὰ προφέρειν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν βίον,
 44 ἐφ' ὅσον καὶ ταῖς εὐτυχίαις διενήνοχας. ἄτοπον

¹ MSS. καταδαρθέντα.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 39-43

A wife has great power to paralyse and seduce her husband^a and particularly if she is a wanton, for her guilty conscience increases her wheedling. The 40 husband, unaware of the corruption of his marriage and household, and thinking that her wheedling is benevolence pure and simple, is deceived and little knows that her artifices are leading him to take his worst enemies to be his dearest friends.

VII. Knowing then that he had saved Gaius over 41 and over again when within an ace of destruction, he gave his admonitions frankly and without disguise, for like a good builder he wished his handiwork to remain proof against destruction or dissolution either by himself or another. So whenever he saw Gaius 42 asleep at a banquet he would wake him up with the double object of preserving propriety and his personal safety, since a sleeping man is an easy target for conspiracy. Or if he saw him frantic with excitement at the sight of dancers and sometimes joining in the dance, or greeting a nime of scandalous scenes and broad jesting with a loud youngster's guffaw, instead of a subdued or sedate smile, or fascinated by the music of harpers or choric singers and occasionally accompanying them, he would sit or lean back at his side and nudge him and try to restrain him. Often, 43 too, bending down to his ear so that no one else should listen, he would admonish him gently and quietly. "As a spectator," he would say, "or listener, or using any other of your senses, you ought not to be like those around you or anyone else at all. In every side of life you ought to be as far above these as you have surpassed them in your good

^a δείνον . . . παραλῦσαι read like part of an hexameter.

γὰρ τὸν ἡγεμόνα γῆς καὶ θαλάττης νικᾶσθαι πρὸς
 ὧδῆς ἢ ὀρχήσεως ἢ χλευαστικοῦ σκώμματος ἢ
 τινος τῶν ὁμοιοτρόπων, ἀλλὰ μὴ αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ
 μεμνηῖσθαι τῆς ἡγεμονίας, καθάπερ ποιμένα τινὰ
 καὶ ἐπιστάτην ἀγέλης, τὰ πρὸς βελτίωσιν ἀπὸ
 παντὸς οὔτινοσοῦν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔλκοντα καὶ λόγου
 45 καὶ πράγματος.” εἶτα ἔφασκεν· “ὅταν παρατυγ-
 χάνῃς σκηνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν ἢ γυμνικοῖς ἢ τοῖς κατὰ
 τὰς ἵπποδρομίας, μὴ σκόπει τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα,
 ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι κατόρθωσιν, καὶ
 46 λάμβανε τὸν τοιούτον λογισμόν· εἰ τὰ μηδὲν ὠφε-
 λοῦντα τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον, τέρψιν δὲ καὶ ἡδονὴν
 αὐτὸ μόνον παρέχοντα θεαταῖς, ἐκπονοῦσιν οὕτω
 τινές, ὥς ἐπαινέσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι καὶ γέρα
 καὶ τιμὰς καὶ στεφάνους μετὰ κηρυγμάτων λαμβά-
 νειν, τί χρὴ πράττειν τὸν τῆς ἀνωτάτω καὶ μεγίστης
 47 τέχνης ἐπιστήμονα; μεγίστη δὲ καὶ ἀρίστη τέχνη
 πασῶν ἐστὶν ἡ ἡγεμονία, δι' ἧς πᾶσα μὲν ἡ ἀγαθὴ
 καὶ βαθεῖα πεδιάς τε καὶ ὀρεινὴ γεωργεῖται, πᾶσα
 δὲ θάλαττα φορτηγοῖς ὀλκάσιν ἀκινδύνως διαπλεῖ-
 ται κατὰ τὰς ἀντιδόσεις ὧν ἀλλήλαις ἀγαθῶν
 ἀντεκτίνουσιν αἱ χῶραι κοινωνίας ἱμέρω, τὰ μὲν
 [553] ἐνδέοντα λαμβάνουσιν, ὧν δ' ἄγουσι περιουσίαν |
 48 ἀντιπέμπουσιν. φθόνος γὰρ οὐδέποτε πᾶσαν τὴν
 οἰκουμένην ἐκράτησεν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὰς μεγάλας
 αὐτῆς ἀποτομάς, ὅλην Εὐρώπην ἢ ὅλην Ἀσίαν·
 ἀλλ' ἰοβόλου τρόπον ἐρπετοῦ φωλεύει βραχέσιν
 εἰσερπύσας χωρίοις ἀνδρὶ ἐνὶ ἡ οἴκῳ ἐνὶ ἡ, εἴ ποτε

^a I understand κατόρθωσις as used in the Stoic sense of the moral state which produces κατορθώματα, i.e. τὰ κατ' ἀρετὴν

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 43-48

fortune. For it is not to be thought of that the 44 sovereign of earth and sea should be overcome by a song or dancing or ribald jesting or anything of the kind, instead of always and everywhere remembering his sovereignty, that he is as a shepherd and master of a flock, and extracting for himself whatever may tend to betterment from everything whatever that is said or done." Then he would continue, "When 45 you are attending theatrical or gymnastic competitions or those of the chariot race, do not pay regard to what the performers actually do, but to the moral achievement^a shown in their doings, and reason thus with yourself. If there are those who so labour on 46 things which do not profit human life but merely provide pleasure and enjoyment to the spectator, so that they win praise and admiration and rewards and honours and crowns announced by proclamations, what should he do who has learnt the highest and greatest art? And the best and greatest art is the art of 47 government which causes the good deep soil in lowlands and highlands to be tilled, and all the seas to be safely navigated by merchantships laden with cargoes to effect the exchange of goods which the countries in desire for fellowship render to each other, receiving those which they lack and sending in return those of which they carry a surplus. For envy has 48 never gained the mastery over the habitable world, nor even of the great sections of it, the whole of Europe or the whole of Asia. But like a venomous reptile it creeps into tiny hiding-places, into a single man or a single house or, if the force of its blast be

ἐνεργήματα. The virtue in this case is *ἀνδρεία*, and it is only in so far as the performers showed this that their performance was worth looking at. Cf. Zeller, *Stoics* (Eng. trans.), p. 243.

PHILO

- πολὺς ἄγαν πνέοι, πόλει μιᾷ· πρὸς δὲ μείζονα κύκλον ἔθλους ἢ χώρας οὐ πρόσσεισι, καὶ μάλιστα ἀφ' οὗ τὸ ὑμέτερον γένος τὸ Σεβαστὸν ὄντως ἤρξατο
- 49 πρυτανεύειν τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ εὐημέρει τῶν βλαβερῶν καὶ ἐν μέσοις ἐξητάζετο, πρὸς ἐσχατίας ὑπερόρια καὶ Ταρτάρου μυχοὺς ἤλασε, τὰ δὲ τρόπον τινὰ φυγαδευθέντα τῶν λυσιτελῶν καὶ ὠφελίμων κατήγαγεν ἀπὸ περάτων γῆς καὶ θαλάττης εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς οἰκουμένην· ἃ πάντα μιᾷ χειρὶ σῇ κυβερνᾶν ἐπιτέτραπται.
- 50 παραπεμφθεῖς γοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς φύσεως ἐπὶ πρύμναν ἀνωτάτω καὶ τοὺς οἴακας ἐγχειρισθεῖς πηδαλιούχει τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων σκάφος σωτηρίως, ἐπὶ μηδενὶ μᾶλλον χαίρων καὶ τερπόμενος ἢ τῷ τοὺς ὑπηκόους
- 51 εὐεργετεῖν. ἄλλοι μὲν γὰρ ἄλλων ἔρανοι, οὓς ἀναγκαίως εἰσφέρουσιν ἰδιῶται κατὰ πόλεις· ἄρχοντι δὲ οἰκειότατος ἔρανος, βουλὰς ἀγαθὰς εἰσηγεῖσθαι περὶ τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων καὶ πράττειν τὰ βουλευθέντα ὀρθῶς καὶ ἀταμίευτα προφέρειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ πλουσίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ γνώμῃ, πλὴν ὅσα κατὰ πρόνοιαν τῆς εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἀδηλότητος ἄξιον παραφυλάττειν.”
- 52 VIII. Τοιούτοις κατεπῆδεν ὁ δυστυχής, ὥστε βελτιῶσαι τὸν Γάιον. ὁ δὲ φίλερις καὶ φιλόνεικος ὢν ἐπὶ τάναντία τὴν διάνοιαν ἔτρεπεν, ὥσπερ εἰς ἐκεῖνα παρακληθεῖς, καὶ τὸν σωφρονιστὴν ἀντικρυς ἀπεθάρρει δυσωπεῖν, ἔστι δὲ ὅτε καὶ πόρρωθεν ἀφικνούμενον ὁρῶν πρὸς τοὺς πλησίον ταυτὶ διε-
- 53 λάλει· “ πάρεστιν ὁ διδάσκαλος τοῦ μηκέτι μαθητῆν ὀφείλοντος, ὁ παιδαγωγὸς τοῦ μηκέτι παιδὸς

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 48-53

overstrong, into a single city. But to the wider circuit of a nation or country it has no entry, particularly since your family, the truly Augustan, began to hold sway over all and everywhere. For 49 all the mischiefs which used to prosper and occupy a central place have been driven by your house into exile and into the utmost corners and recesses of Tartarus, and things beneficial and profitable which lay as though in banishment it has brought back from the ends of the earth and sea into the world of our habitation. The governance of all these has been entrusted to your single hand. Accordingly 50 having under Nature's escort risen to the highest post in the stern, and the tiller placed in your hand, steer in security the common ship of mankind, rejoicing and delighting in nothing so much as in benefiting your subjects. For various are the contributions 51 which private citizens throughout the cities render under compulsion, but the fittest contribution for a ruler is to put forth good proposals for the benefit of his subjects and to execute these proposals in the best way possible and to bring forth good gifts with a bountiful hand and will, reserving nothing save what in provision for the uncertainty of the future may fitly be stored in safe-keeping."

VIII. With such talk the unfortunate man tried to 52 charm Gaius into better ways. But quarrelsome and contentious as he was, he let his inclination turn to the opposite direction as though it was that to which Macro urged him. And he grew bold enough to flout his monitor outright, and sometimes when he saw him coming a little way off he would discourse thus to the bystanders, "Here comes the teacher of 53 one who no longer needs to learn, the tutor of one who

ὄντος, ὁ νουθετητῆς τοῦ φρονιμωτέρου, ὁ τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τῷ ὑπηκόῳ πειθαρχεῖν ἀξιῶν, ἐθάδα τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς ἐπιστήμης καὶ παιδευτὴν ἑαυτὸν γράφει, παρὰ τίνι μαθὼν τὰ ἀρχικὰ ἔγωγε οὐκ
 54 οἶδα. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἔτι σπαργάνων μυριοὶ διδάσκαλοι γεγόνασι, πατέρες, ἀδελφοί, θεῖοι, ἀνεψιοί, πάπποι, πρόγονοι μέχρι τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν, οἱ ἀφ' αἵματος πάντες καθ' ἑκάτερον γένος τό τε πατρῶον καὶ μητρῶον, αὐτοκρατεῖς ἐξουσίας περιποιησάμενοι, χωρὶς τοῦ καὶ ταῖς πρώταις τῶν σπερμάτων καταβολαῖς εἶναί τινος δυνάμεις βασι-
 55 λικὰς τῶν ἡγεμονικῶν. ὥς γὰρ αἱ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ὁμοιότητες κατὰ τε τὴν μορφήν καὶ σχέσεις καὶ κινήσεις βουλὰς τε καὶ πράξεις ἐν τοῖς σπερματικοῖς σῶζονται λόγοις, οὕτως εἰκὸς ἐν
 [554] τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπογράφεσθαι τυπωδέστερον | καὶ τὴν
 56 πρὸς ἡγεμονίαν ἐμφέρειαν. εἴτα ἐμὲ τὸν καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἔτι κατὰ γαστρὸς ἐν τῷ τῆς φύσεως ἐργαστηρίῳ διαπλασθέντα αὐτοκράτορα τολμᾷ τις διδάσκειν, ἀνεπιστήμων ἐπιστήμονα; ποῦ γὰρ τοῖς ιδιώταις πρὸ μικροῦ θέμις εἰς ἡγεμονικῆς ψυχῆς παρακύψαι βουλεύματα; τολμῶσι δὲ ὑπ' ἀναισχύντου θράσους ἱεροφαντεῖν καὶ τελεῖν τὰ
 57 ἡγεμονικὰ μόλις ἂν ἐν μύσταις ἀναγραφέντες." ἐκ δὲ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον μελετῶν ἀλλοτριοῦσθαι τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἤρχετο καὶ ψευδεῖς μὲν πιθανὰς δὲ καὶ εὐπαραγώγους κατ' αὐτοῦ πλάττειν αἰτίας· δειναὶ γὰρ αἱ εὐθικτοὶ καὶ μεγάλαὶ φύσεις εἰκοτολογῆσαι.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 53-57

is no longer in tutelage, the censor of his superior in wisdom, who holds that an emperor should obey his subjects, who rates himself as versed in the art of government and an instructor therein, though in what school he has learnt its principles I do not know. For I from the cradle have had a host of 54 teachers, father, brothers, uncles, cousins, grandparents, ancestors, right up to the founders of the House, all my kinsmen by blood on both the maternal and paternal sides, who attained to offices of independent authority, apart from the fact that in the original seeds of their begetting kinglike potentialities for government were contained. For just as 55 the seminal forces^a preserve similarities of the body in form and carriage and gait, and of the soul in projects and actions, so we may suppose that to the governing faculty they contain a resemblance in outline. And 56 then does anyone dare to teach me, who even while in the womb, that workshop of nature,^b was modelled as an emperor, ignorance dare to instruct knowledge? How can they who were but now common citizens have a right to peer into the counsels of an imperial soul? yet in their shameless effrontery they who would hardly be admitted to rank as learners dare to act as masters who initiate others into the mysteries of government." Step by step he began to practise 57 alienating himself from Macro and also to fabricate charges against him, which though false were specious and readily accepted. For quick and highly gifted natures are clever at producing plausible argu-

Op. 43 (vol. i. p. 475), where reference is given to *S.V.F.* index p. 93 a.

^b This phrase for the womb has been used several times, see note on *De Act.* 66.

- 58 τοιαῦται δὲ ἦσαν αἱ προφάσεις· “ ἐμόν ἐστι τοῦ Μάκρωνος ἔργον Γάιος· μᾶλλον αὐτὸν ἢ οὐχ ἦττον τῶν γονέων γεγέννηκα· τρίς, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀνῆρπαστο ἂν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ Τιβερίου φονῶντος, εἰ μὴ δι’ ἐμέ καὶ τὰς ἐμὰς παρηγορίας· ἀλλὰ καὶ τελευτήσαντος ἔχων ὑπηκόους τὰς στρατιωτικὰς δυνάμεις εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου παρέπεμψε τάξιν, ἀναδιδάσκων ὅτι ἀνδρὸς ἐνὸς γέγονεν ἔνδεια· μένει δὲ ἄρτιος καὶ πλήρης ἡ
- 59 ἡγεμονία.” τούτοις συνεπειέθοντό τινες ὡς ἀψευδέσιν ἀγνοοῦντες τὸν φένακα τρόπον τοῦ λέγοντος· οὐπὼ γὰρ ἦν τὸ πεπλασμένον αὐτοῦ καὶ ποικίλον τῶν ἡθῶν ἐμφανές. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ πολλαῖς ὕστερον ἡμέραις ἐκποδὼν ὁ κακοδαίμων γίνεται σὺν τῇ γυναικί, τῆς περιττῆς εὐνοίας ἀμοιβὰς τὰς
- 60 ἀνωτάτω τιμωρίας ἀντιλαβών. τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν ἡ εἰς τοὺς ἀχαρίστους χάρις· ἀντὶ γὰρ ὧν ὠφελήθησαν, παρέχουσι τὰς μεγίστας ζημίας τοῖς εὐεργετήσασιν. ὁ γοῦν Μάκρων πάντα ἐπ’ ἀληθείας πραγματευσάμενος μετ’ ἐκτενεστάτης σπουδῆς καὶ φιλοτιμίας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὲρ τοῦ σῶσαι Γάιον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διαδέξα-
- 61 σθαι, τοιαῦτα εὗρατο τὰ ἐπίχειρα. λέγεται γάρ, ὅτι ἡναγκάσθη ὁ δεῖλαιος αὐτοχειρίᾳ κτείνειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀνεδέξατο συμφορὰν ἢ γυνή, καίτοι ποτὲ νομισθεῖσα διὰ συνηθείας αὐτῷ γενέσθαι· βέβαιον δὲ οὐδέν φασι τῶν ἐν ἔρωτι φίλτρων εἶναι διὰ τὸ τοῦ πάθους ἀψίκoron.
- 62 IX. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ὁ Μάκρων πανοίκιος ἱέρευτο,¹

¹ MSS. ἱερεύετο.

^a It is strange not to find some words to the effect that Marco had been heard to say this. For since what follows

30

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 57-62

ments. This was the sort of allegation which he 58 made, "Macro says,^a 'It is I Macro who made Gaius, I am his begetter more or not less than his parents. Not once only but thrice, when Tiberius wished to kill him he would have been violently removed, had it not been for me and my exhortations. Even when Tiberius was dead, as I had the military forces under my control, I at once brought them over into his camp by teaching them that one man was needed and so his sovereignty remains perfect and complete.' "

Some people accepted these charges as 59 veracious, not knowing the deceptive and cunning character of the speaker, for his artificial and cunning disposition was not yet manifest. However a few days later the unhappy man together with his wife was got rid of and paid the extreme penalty in return for his excessive zeal. This is the gratitude 60 gained by benefits bestowed on the ungrateful. They return the benefits they have received by inflicting the severest penalties on their benefactors. Such were, for example, the rewards which Macro reaped after having busied himself throughout in all sincerity with the most intense zeal and ardour, first to save Gaius's life and secondly to secure his sole accession to the sovereignty. For it is said that the unhappy 61 man was forced to slay himself with his own hand and that his wife submitted to the same fate, though she was supposed to have been at one time Gaius's mistress. But love as they say is a fickle passion, and therefore none of its endearments are stable.

IX. When Macro, too, with his whole house had 62

simply repeats what Philo declares to have been the truth, the falsity could only lie in that he had actually made the boast.

- τρίτῳ ἐπαπεδύετο δόλῳ βαρυτέρῳ. πενθερὸς ἐγε-
 γένητο αὐτῷ Μάρκος Σιλανός, μεστὸς φρονήματος
 ἀνὴρ καὶ γένει λαμπρός. οὗτος ὠκυμόρου τῆς
 θυγατρὸς ἀποθανούσης ἔτι περιεῖπε τὸν Γάιον,
 εὖνοϊαν προσφερόμενος οὐ πενθεροῦ μᾶλλον ἢ
 γνησίου πατρός, ἧς¹ ἐνόμιζεν ἀντιλήψεσθαι κατὰ
 νόμον ἰσότητος μεθαρμοσάμενος τὸν γαμβρὸν εἰς
 υἱόν. ἐλελήθει δὲ ἄρα ψευδοδοξῶν καὶ ἀπατώ-
 [555] 63 μενος. | ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς τοῦ κηδεμόνος² λόγους αἰεὶ
 διεξήκει μηδὲν ἐπικρυπτόμενος τῶν εἰς βελτίωσιν
 καὶ ὠφέλειαν ἡθῶν καὶ βίου καὶ ἡγεμονίας, ἔχων
 εἰς παρρησίαν καὶ μεγάλας ἀφορμὰς ὑπερβάλλουσάν
 τε εὐγένειαν καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐπιγαμίαν οἰκειότητα.
 καὶ γὰρ ἡ θυγάτηρ οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἐτεθνήκει χρό-
 νων, ὥς ἀμαυρωθῆναι τὰ δίκαια τῶν κηδεστῶν,
 ἀλλὰ μόνον οὐκ ἥσπαιρεν, ἔτι λευψάνων τινῶν
 ὑστάτων τοῦ ψυχικοῦ πνεύματος ἐνυπαρχόντων καὶ
 64 ἐγκατελλημμένων τῷ σώματι. ὁ δὲ πρὸς ὕβρεως
 τὰς νουθεσίας λαμβάνων τῷ πάντων οἰεσθαι φρο-
 νιμώτατος καὶ σωφρονέστατος ἔτι δὲ ἀνδρειότατος
 εἶναι καὶ δικαιοτάτος ἡχθαίρε μᾶλλον τῶν ὁμολο-
 65 γουμένων πολεμίων τοὺς διδάσκοντας. ὑπολαβὼν
 οὖν καὶ τοῦτον εἶναι παρενόχλημα, τὴν πολλὴν
 αὐτοῦ ῥύμην τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐφέξοντα, πολλὰ χαί-
 ρειν φράσας τοῖς δαίμοσι τῆς ἀποθανούσης γυναι-
 κός, εἰ πατέρα μὲν ἐκείνης ἑαυτοῦ δὲ γενόμενον
 πενθερὸν μεταστήσεται, δολοφονεῖ.
 66 X. Καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἤδη περιβόητον τοῖς ἐπαλ-

¹ MSS. ἦν.² MSS. τοὺς κηδομένους ὅτ τοῦ κηδομένου.^a Possibly second, i.e. before that of Macro, which is

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 62-66

been slaughtered Gaius armed himself to deal a third^a blow of still more grievous treachery. He had for his father-in-law M. Silanus, a man with plenty of fine spirit and of distinguished family. His daughter died early but he continued to pay the same attentions to Gaius and showed him an affection suited not so much to a father-in-law as to an actual father, thinking that by thus converting his son-in-law into a son he would have it reciprocated by the rule of equality. But he little knew how false and deceptive was his expectation. In all his discourse he talked as a guardian, concealing nothing which might tend to improve and benefit Gaius's character, conduct and government. He had, indeed, strong inducements to speak freely in his pre-eminently noble lineage and his close connexion by marriage. For his daughter had died only a short time before ; the rights of her kinsfolk had grown faint but had all but ceased to struggle for breath although some last remnants of their vitality still existed enclosed in their body. But Gaius took his admonitions as an insult since he thought himself the wisest and most temperate of men and also the bravest and justest and hated his instructors more than his avowed enemies. He considered, too, that Silanus was a nuisance, who would obstruct the torrent of his lusts, and, dismissing all thought of his dead wife's ghostly avengers, should he make away with her father, afterwards his own by marriage, he treacherously murdered him.

X. The matter at once gained notoriety by follow- mentioned by Dio and Suetonius at a later point in their narratives. The death of both Tiberius Gemellus and Silanus is fixed as before 24th May 38, by the records of the Arval Brothers, which note the appointment of their successors at that date. See Balsdon, *Gaius*, pp. 37, 38.

- λήλοις τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν φόνοις ἐγεγένητο, ὥς διὰ παντὸς στόματος δυσκάθαρτα ἄγῃ συνηχεῖσθαι, φανερώς μὲν οὐ διὰ δέος, ἡρεμαιοτέρα δὲ τῇ φωνῇ.
- 67 κᾶπειτα ἐκ μεταβολῆς—ὄχλος γὰρ ἀνίδρυτον ἐν ἅπασι, καὶ βουλαῖς καὶ λόγοις καὶ πράγμασιν—ἀπιστοῦντες, εἰ οὕτως ἀθρώαν ἐνδέδεκται τροπὴν ὁ πρὸ μικροῦ χρηστὸς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος ἴσος τε καὶ κοινωνικὸς εἶναι νομισθεῖς Γάιος, ἀπολογίας ἐσκόπουν καὶ διερευνῶντες εὕρισκον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ ἀνεψιῷ καὶ συγκληρονόμῳ τοιαῦτα φάσκοντες·
- 68 “ ἀκοινώνητον ἀρχή, θεσμὸς φύσεως ἀκίνητος. οὗτος ἂ παθεῖν ἐμέλλησεν ἂν ὑπ’ ἀδυνατωτέρου προδιέθηκεν ἰσχυρότερος ὢν· ἄμυνα τοῦτ’ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἀνδροφονία. τάχα δὲ καὶ προνοητικῶς ἐπ’ ὠφελείᾳ τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους τὸ μειράκιον ἐκποδῶν γεγένηται, τῶν μὲν τούτῳ τῶν δὲ ἐκείνῳ προσκληρουμένων, ἐξ ὧν ταραχαὶ ἐμφύλιοι τε καὶ ξενικοὶ πόλεμοι συνίστανται. τί δὲ ἄμεινον εἰρήνης; εἰρήνη δὲ ἐξ ἡγεμονίας ὀρθῆς φύεται· ἡγεμονία δὲ ἀφιλόνεικος καὶ ἀνερίθευτος ὀρθὴ μόνη, δι’ ἧς καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα κατορθοῦνται.”
- 69 ἐπὶ δὲ Μάκρωνι· “ πλεον ἐφυσήθη τοῦ μετρίου· τὸ Δελφικὸν γράμμα οὐ διανέγνω, τὸ ‘γνώθι σαυτόν’· φασὶ δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐπιστήμην εὐδαιμονίας τὴν δὲ ἄγνοιαν κακοδαιμονίας αἰτίαν εἶναι. τί παθὼν ὑπελλάττετο καὶ μετετίθει τὸν μὲν ὑπήκοον αὐτὸν εἰς τάξιν ἄρχοντος, τὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα
- [556] Γάιον | εἰς ὑπηκόου χώραν; οἰκειότατον ἡγεμονίᾳ μὲν τὸ προστάττειν, ὅπερ ἐποίει Μάκρων, ὑπηκόῳ

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 66-69

ing on the successive murders of the foremost men. And so in every mouth there was common talk about these inexpiable abominations, though quietly and in undertones, since fear prevented open discussion. Then there was a reaction, for a multitude is unstable 67 in everything, intentions, words and deeds. They could not believe that Gaius, who but now had been thought kind and humane, showing fairness and fellowship to all, had undergone at once so complete a change. They began to look for arguments of defence and by close search found them. Of his own cousin and fellow-heir they would talk thus. "Sovereignty cannot be shared, that is an immutable 68 law of nature. He being the stronger promptly did to the weaker what the weaker would have done to him. This is defence, not murder. Perhaps, too, it was providential and for the benefit of all mankind, that the lad was put out of the way, since some would have been partisans of him and others of Gaius, and it is such things that create disturbances and wars both civil and foreign. And what is better than peace? But peace springs from right government. The only right government is that which is free from disputes and factions which also causes everything else to be carried on aright." Of Macro they said, "His pride extended beyond 69 reasonable limits, he did not read well the Delphic motto 'Know thyself.' It is a common saying that knowledge is the source of happiness and ignorance of unhappiness. What reason had he for reversing his part and transferring the subject to the rank of ruler, and Gaius, the emperor, to the place of a subject? To command, which is what he did, befits best the sovereign, and to obey, which is what

PHILO

- δὲ τὸ πειθαρχεῖν, ὅπερ ὑπομένειν ἡξίου Γάιον.”
- 70 ἐκάλουν γὰρ οἱ ἀνεξέταστοι τὴν παραίνεσιν πρόσ-
ταξιν καὶ τὸν σύμβουλον ἄρχοντα, ἥτοι μὴ συν-
ιέντες ὑπ’ ἀναισθησίας ἢ διὰ κολακείαν τὰς φύσεις
τῶν ὀνομάτων ὁμοῦ καὶ πραγμάτων μεταχαράτ-
71 τουντες. ἐπὶ δὲ Σιλανῶ· “ χλεύης ἄξιον
ὁ Σιλανὸς ἔπαθεν, οἰηθεὶς πενθερόν τοσοῦτον παρὰ
γαμβρῶ δύνασθαι, ὅσον πατέρα γνήσιον παρ’ υἱῶ.
καίτοι πατέρες ἰδιῶται γενομένων ἐν ἀρχαῖς με-
γάλαις καὶ ἐξουσίαις υἱῶν ὑποστέλλουσιν, ἀγα-
πητῶς φερόμενοι δευτερεῖα. ὁ δὲ ἡλίθιος, οὐδὲ
πενθερὸς ὢν ἔτι, τὰ μὴ καθ’ ἑαυτὸν προσπερι-
ειργάζετο μὴ συνιείς, ὅτι θανάτῳ τῆς θυγατρὸς
συνετεθνήκει καὶ ἢ κατ’ ἐπιγαμίαν οἰκειότης·
72 δεσμὸς γὰρ οἴκων ὀθνείων αἱ ἐπιγαμίαι τὴν ἄλλο-
τριότητα εἰς οἰκειότητα συνάγων, οὗ λυθέντος
λέλυται καὶ τὰ τῆς κοινωνίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν
ἀνεπανορθῶται πράγματι λυθῇ, τελευτῇ τῆς εἰς
73 ἀλλότριον οἶκον δεδομένης ἐπὶ γάμῳ.” τοιαῦτα
ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς συλλόγοις ἐθρύλουν πλείστον διδόντες
μέρος τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι δοκεῖν ὥμὸν εἶναι τὸν
αὐτοκράτορα· χρηστότητα γὰρ καὶ φιланθρωπίαν
ἐλπίσαντες ὅσῃν παρ’ οὐδενὶ τῶν προτέρων ἐνδρύ-
σθαι τῇ Γαίου ψυχῇ σφόδρα ἄπιστον ἐνόμιζον, εἰ
τοσαύτην καὶ οὕτως ἄθροαν ἐνδέδεκται μεταβολὴν
πρὸς τάναντία.
- 74 XI. Κατεργασάμενος οὖν τρεῖς τοὺς εἰρημένους
ἄθλους ἐκ τριῶν τῶν ἀναγκαιοτάτων μερῶν, δυοῖν
μὲν ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος τοῦ τε βουλευτικοῦ καὶ τοῦ

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 69-74

he deemed Gaius should submit to, befits the subject." For in their thoughtlessness they gave the 70 name of commanding to exhortation and of the ruler to the counsellor, whether they misunderstood the matter through stupidity, or in flattery recast the words and the things signified by them away from their natural use.

Of Silanus, "He was 71 under a ridiculous delusion in thinking that a father-in-law had the same influence over a son-in-law as a real father has over his son, though, indeed, in private life fathers whose sons have obtained high offices and posts of authority waive their claims and are content to take the second place. But this silly man even though he had ceased to be a father-in-law extended his activities beyond his sphere and did not understand that the death of his daughter carried with it the death of the matrimonial affinity. For inter- 72 marriage is a lien between unconnected households bringing the status of stranger into one of affinity, and if this be broken the community of interests is broken also, particularly if the break is caused by an irretrievable event, the death of her whose admission to a house not her own rested on her marriage." Such were the ideas on which they dwelt in all their 73 talks, and what principally weighed with them was their wish to think that the emperor was not cruel. For as they had hoped that kindness and humanity were established in his soul in a greater degree than in any of his predecessors they thought it very incredible that he had undergone all at once so complete a change to the reverse.

XI. Gaius had thus won the three contests de- 74 scribed above in three vitally important departments. Two of these, the Senate and the Equestrian Order,

PHILO

- τῆς ἵππικῆς τάξεως, τρίτου δὲ τοῦ συγγενικοῦ, καὶ ὑπολαβὼν τῶν ἰσχυροτάτων καὶ δυνατωτάτων
- 75 περιγεγενημένος καταπληκτικώτατον δέος ἐνεργάσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν, διὰ μὲν τῆς Σιλανοῦ σφαγῆς τοῖς βουλευταῖς—ἦν γὰρ οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐν συγκλήτῳ δεύτερος—, διὰ δὲ τῆς Μάκρωνος τοῖς ἵππικοῖς—οἷα γὰρ χοροῦ τινος ἡγεμὼν ἐγεγένητο φερόμενος τὰ πρωτεῖα τιμῆς καὶ εὐδοξίας—, διὰ δὲ τῆς τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ καὶ συγκληρονόμου τοῖς ἀφ' αἵματος ἅπασιν, οὐκέτι ἡξίου μένειν ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ὄροις, ἀλλ' ὑπερέκυπτε σπου-
- 76 δάζων θεὸς νομίζεσθαι. καὶ ἐν ἀρχῇ ταύτης τῆς παραπληξίας φασὶν αὐτὸν χρήσασθαι τοιούτῳ λογισμῷ· καθάπερ γὰρ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ἀγελάρχαι, βουκόλοι καὶ αἰπόλοι καὶ νομεῖς, [557] οὔτε βόες εἰσὶν οὔτε αἶγες οὔτε ἄρνες, ἀλλ' ἄνθρωποι κρείττονος μοίρας καὶ κατασκευῆς ἐπιλαχόντες, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἀγελαρχοῦντα καμὲ τῆς ἀρίστης ἀνθρώπων γένους ἀγέλης νομιστέον διαφέρειν καὶ μὴ κατ' ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, μείζονος δὲ
- 77 καὶ θειοτέρας μοίρας τετυχηκέναι. ταύτην τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἐνσφραγισάμενος τῇ διανοίᾳ περιέφερεν ὁ ἡλίθιος ἐν ἑαυτῷ μυθικὸν πλάσμα ὡς ἀψευδεστάτην ἀλήθειαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἅπαξ ἐθρασύνατο καὶ ἀπετόλμησεν εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν τὴν ἀθεωτάτην ἐκθέωσιν αὐτοῦ, τὰ ἀκόλουθα καὶ συνωδὰ πράττειν ἐπεχείρει καὶ οἷα δι' ἀναβαθμῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς τὸ ἄνω προήει.
- 78 ἤρχετο γὰρ ἐξομοιοῦν τὸ πρῶτον τοῖς λεγομένοις ἡμιθέοις ἑαυτόν, Διονύσῳ καὶ Ἑρακλεῖ καὶ Διοσκούροις, Τροφώνιον καὶ Ἀμφιάραον καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον καὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους χρηστηρίους αὐτοῖς καὶ

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 74-78

concerned his relations to his Capital; the third was his family life. So supposing that by his victory over the strongest and most powerful personages he had inspired all the rest with abject fear, the senators by the murder of Silanus who was 75 second to none of the members of that body, the knights by the death of Macro who had become like the leader of a chorus and stood first in honours and reputation among them, and all his blood relations by the death of his cousin and fellow-heir, he no longer considered it worthy of him to abide within the bounds of human nature but overstepped them in his eagerness to be thought a god.

In the 76 first stage of this infatuation he is said to have taken this line of argument. "Those who have charge of the herds of other animals, ox herds, goat herds, shepherds, are not themselves oxen, nor goats nor lambs, but men to whom is given a higher destiny and constitution, and in the same way I who am in charge of the best of herds, mankind, must be considered to be different from them and not of human nature but to have a greater and diviner destiny."

This conception he had firmly sealed 77 in his mind and carried about with him, poor fool, a mythical fiction as if it was an indisputable truth. And when once he had gained courage and was emboldened to publish to the multitude his most godless assumption of godship he tried to make his actions correspond and harmonize with it and gradually as if on stepping-stones advanced to the top.

For he began first of all to 78 liken himself to the so-called demigods, Dionysus and Heracles and the Dioscuri, treating Trophonius and Amphiaraus and Amphilochus and their like and their

- ὀργίοις χλεύην τιθέμενος κατὰ σύγκρισιν τῆς ἰδίας
 79 δυνάμεως. εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἐν θεάτρῳ σκευὴν ἄλλοτε
 ἄλλοιαν ἀνελάμβανε, τοτὲ μὲν λεοντὴν καὶ ῥόπαλον,
 ἀμφοτέρω ἐπὶ χρυσῇ, διακοσμούμενος εἰς Ἡρακλέα,
 τοτὲ δὲ πῖλους ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὁπότε ἄσκειτο
 εἰς Διοσκούρους· ἔστι δὲ ὅτε κιττῷ καὶ θύρῳ
 80 καὶ νεβρίσιν εἰς Διόνυσον ἡσκεῖτο. καὶ
 ταύτῃ διαφέρειν ἀξιῶν, ὅτι ἐκείνων μὲν ἕκαστος
 ἰδίας ἔχων τιμὰς οὐ μετεποιεῖτο ὧν ἐκοινωνοῦν
 ἕτεροι, ὁ δὲ τὰς πάντων ἀθρόων¹ ἐσφετερίζετο
 φθόνῳ καὶ πλεονεξίᾳ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκεί-
 νους, οὐκ εἰς Γηρυόνην τὸν τρισώματον μεταβαλὼν,
 ἵνα τῷ πλήθει παραγάγῃ τοὺς ὀρώντας, ἀλλ', ὁ δὴ
 παραδοξότατον ἦν, ἐνὸς σώματος οὐσίαν μετασχη-
 ματίζων καὶ μεταχαράττων εἰς πολυτρόπους μορ-
 φάς, Αἰγυπτίου τρόπον Πρωτέως, ὃν εἰσῆγαγεν
 Ὀμηρος μεταβολὰς παντοίας ἐνδεχόμενον εἰς τε τὰ
 στοιχεῖα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τούτων ζῶα καὶ φυτά.
 81 Καίτοι τί παρασῆμων ἔδει σοι, Γάιε, οἷς ἔθος
 ἀσκεῖσθαι² τὰ τῶν εἰρημένων ἀφιδρύματα; ἐχρῆν
 γὰρ ζηλοῦν τὰς ἐκείνων ἀρετάς. Ἡρακλῆς ἐκά-
 θηρε γῆν καὶ θάλατταν ἄθλους ἀναγκαιοτάτους καὶ
 ὠφελιμωτάτους ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις ὑποστὰς ἕνεκα
 τοῦ τὰ βλαβερά καὶ κακωτικὰ φύσεως ἐκατέρως
 82 ἀνελεῖν. Διόνυσος ἡμερώσας ἄμπελον
 καὶ ποτὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναχέας ἡδιστον ὁμοῦ καὶ
 ὠφελιμωτάτον ψυχαῖς τε καὶ σώμασι τὰς μὲν ἄγει
 πρὸς εὐθυμίαν, κακῶν λήθην καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίδας

¹ MSS. ἄθροον.² MSS. ἀρκεῖσθαι.

^a According to Dio lix. 26, he also impersonated goddesses: Hera, Aphrodite and Artemis.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 78-82

oracles and celebrations as laughing-stocks compared with his own power. Then, as in a theatre, he assumed 79 different costumes at different times, sometimes the lion skin and club, both overlaid with gold, to adorn himself as Heracles, sometimes caps on his head when he made himself up as the Dioscuri, or again as Dionysus with ivy, thyrsus and fawn's skin.^a

And he thought it fit to differ from these in that 80 while each of them held to his own honours and did not lay claim to those which were shared by others, he, filled with envy and covetousness, took possession wholesale of the honours of them all, or rather of the deities themselves. He did not convert himself into a triple-bodied Geryon to bewilder the spectators by the multiplication, but performed a feat which could be least expected by remodelling and recasting what was nothing but a single body into manifold forms, like the Egyptian Proteus whom Homer represented as admitting every kind of transfiguration both into the elements and into the animals and plants of which they are the components.^b

And yet what business had you, Gaius, to take the 81 insignia commonly used to adorn the images of the said deities? For you should have emulated their virtues. Heracles purged the earth and the sea, undergoing trials of endurance most necessary and profitable for all mankind in order to destroy things which are mischievous and baneful to either form of life.

Dionysus cultivated the wild vine and 82 drew pouring from it a drink most delicious and at the same time profitable to souls and bodies. The soul he brings into a state of cheerfulness, creating oblivion

^b See *Od.* iv. 454 ff. *Cf. Ebr.* 36.

- ἐνεργαζόμενος, τὰ δὲ σώματα ὑγιεινότερα καὶ κρα-
 83 ταιότερα καὶ εὐκινήτοτερα παρασκευάζει· καὶ ἰδίᾳ
 τε ἕκαστον ἀνθρώπων¹ βελτίονα ποιεῖ καὶ πολυ-
 ἀνθρώπους οἰκίας καὶ συγγενείας ἐξ αὐχμηροῦ
 καὶ ἐπιπόνου βίου μεθαρμόζεται πρὸς ἀνειμένης
 σχῆμα καὶ ἰλαρᾶς διαίτης καὶ πάσαις πόλεσιν |
 [558] Ἑλληνικαῖς τε καὶ βαρβαρικαῖς εὐωχίας, εὐφρο-
 σύνας, θαλίας, ἑορτὰς ἐπαλλήλους παρέχει· πάντων
 γὰρ τῶν λεχθέντων αἴτιος ἄκρατος.
- 84 πάλιν Διοσκούρους λόγος ἔχει κοινώσασθαι τὴν
 ἀθανασίαν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θνητὸς ὁ δὲ ἀθάνατος
 ἦν, οὐκ ἔδικαίωσεν ὁ τῆς κρείττονος μοίρας ἀξιο-
 θεῖς φιλαυτῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὖνοιαν
 85 ἐπιδείξασθαι. φαντασιωθεῖς γὰρ τὸν ἄπειρον αἰ-
 ῶνα καὶ λογισάμενος, ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν αἰεὶ βιώσεται,
 ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αἰεὶ τεθνήξεται, καὶ μετὰ τῆς ἀθανα-
 σίας ἀθάνατον τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ πένθος ἀναδέξεται,
 θαυμαστὴν ἐμεγαλουργήσεν ἀντίδοσιν ἀνακερασά-
 μενος αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ θνητόν, τῷ δὲ ἀδελφῷ τὸ
 ἄφθαρτον, καὶ ἀνισότητα, τὴν ἀδικίας ἀρχήν,
 ἐνηφάνισεν² ἰσότητι, ἣτις ἐστὶ πηγὴ δικαιοσύνης.
- 86 XII. Οὗτοι πάντες, ὦ Γάιε, διὰ τὰς ὑπεργράμμεναις
 εὐεργεσίας ἐθαυμάσθησαν καὶ ἔτι νῦν θαυμάζονται
 καὶ σεβασμοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἀνωτάτω τιμῶν ἡξιώ-
 θησαν. εἰπέ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν, ἐπὶ τίνι γαυριᾷς
 87 καὶ πεφύσησαι τῶν παραπλησίων; ἐμιμήσω τοὺς
 Διοσκούρους εἰς φιλαδελφίαν; ἵνα ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξω-
 μαι. τὸν μὲν ἀδελφὸν καὶ συγκληρονόμον ἐν ἀκμῇ

¹ MSS. αὐτῶν.² MSS. ἐνεκαίνεσεν or ἀνεκοίνωσεν.* Philo has alluded to the story of the Dioscuri, *De Som.* i.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 82-87

of evils and hopes of good, while he renders the body healthier and stronger and more agile. In private life 83 he improves each person and converts large households and families from a squalid and toilsome existence to a free and gay mode of living, and for all cities Greek and barbarian he provides a constant succession of banquets, merrymakings, galas, festivals. For all these owe their existence to Dionysus.

Again, 84 the Dioscuri^a are said to have shared the immortality between them, for since one of them was mortal and the other immortal he who had been judged worthy of the higher destiny did not think it fit to gratify his selfish instinct instead of showing affection to his brother. For having before his eyes the endless ages 85 and reflecting that while he lived for ever his brother would be dead for ever and his mourning for him would be as everlasting as his own existence, he achieved a great and marvellous reciprocation in that he mingled mortality with his own lot and indestructibility with his brother's, and thus made inequality, the source of injustice, vanish in equality, which is the fountain of justice.

XII. All these, Gaius, received and still receive 86 admiration for the benefits for which we are beholden to them^b and were judged worthy of worship and the highest honours. Tell me yourself what deeds like these have you to make you so boastful and puffed with pride. To begin with the Dioscuri. Did you 87 imitate them in brotherly love? Your brother and

150 and *Dē Dec.* 56. Here he takes the version of the legend in which Castor the mortal was actually killed and then Pollux renounced half his immortality to him.

^b *i.e.* benefits in which they took the initiative and not in return for anything which we had done. For this use of *ὑπάρχω* see *Lexicon*.

- τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ὧ σιδήρειε καὶ ἀνηλεέστατε,
 ὡμῶς ἀπέσφαξας, τὰς <δ> ἀδελφὰς ὕστερον ἐφυ-
 γάδευσας· μὴ καὶ αὐταὶ τὸν περὶ ἀφαιρέσεως
 88 ἀρχῆς φόβον εἰργάζοντό σοι; ἐμμήσω
 Διόνυσον; εὐρετῆς καινῶν γέγονας χαρίτων ὥς
 ἐκεῖνος; εὐφροσύνης κατέπλησας τὴν οἰκουμένην;
 Ἀσία καὶ Εὐρώπη τὰς ἐκ σοῦ γεγενημένας δωρεὰς
 89 οὐ χωρεῖ; καινὰς μὲν οὖν τέχνας καὶ ἐπιστήμας
 ἀνεύρες ὥς κοινὸς λυμεὼν καὶ παλαμναῖος, αἷς
 μεταβάλλεις τὰ ἡδέα καὶ χαρτὰ πρὸς ἀηδίας καὶ
 λύπας καὶ ἀβίωτον βίον τοῖς πανταχοῦ πᾶσι, τὰ
 μὲν παρ' ἐτέροις ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ πάντα σφετεριζό-
 μενος ἀπλήστοις καὶ ἀκορέστοις ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις,
 τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐγῶν, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων, τὰ ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἄλλων τοῦ παντός κλιμάτων, εἴ τινα ἢ κατὰ
 μεσημβρίαν ἢ καὶ πρὸς ἄρκτον, τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς
 σαντοῦ πικρίας καὶ ὅσα ταῖς ἐπαράτοις καὶ ἰοβόλοις
 ψυχαῖς γεννᾶν ἔθος βλαβερὰ καὶ ἐπιζήμια ἀντι-
 διδοὺς καὶ ἀντιπέμπων· διὰ ταῦτα ὁ νέος Διόνυσος
 90 ἡμῖν ἀνεφάνης; ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἡρακλέα ἐζή-
 λωσας τοῖς ἀκαμάτοις σαντοῦ πόνοις καὶ ταῖς
 ἀτρύτοις ἀνδραγαθίαις, εὐνομίας καὶ εὐδικίας εὐ-
 θηνίας¹ τε καὶ εὐετηρίας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν
 ἀφθονίας, ὣν ἡ βαθεῖα εἰρήνη δημιουργός, ἀνα-
 πλήσας ἡπείρους τε καὶ νήσους, ὁ ἀγεννέστατος,
 ὁ δειλίας μεστός, ὁ τῶν μὲν εἰς εὐστάθειαν καὶ
 εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπάντων κενώσας τὰς πόλεις, μεστὰς
 [559] δὲ τῶν | εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ θορύβους καὶ τὴν
 91 ἀνωτάτω βαρυδαιμονίαν ἀναφήνας; ἐπὶ δὲ ταῖς

¹ MSS. εὐσθενείας.

^a For an account of the banishment by Gaius of his sisters

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 87-91

fellow-heir you, iron-hearted and utterly ruthless, cruelly slew in the flower of his prime. Your sisters you afterwards sent into exile.^a Did they too give you cause to fear that they might rob you of your throne ? Did you imitate Dionysus? 88

Have you become an inventor of new bounties as he was ? Did you fill the inhabited world with joyfulness ? Are the gifts bestowed by you more than Asia and Europe can contain ? Rather the novel 89 arts and sciences, which you as the author of general ruin and destruction discovered, were such that with them you changed what gave pleasure and joy into discomfort and grief and a life which all men everywhere find unworthy of the name. And so insatiable and quenchless were your lusts that you stole all that was good and valuable whether from the east or the west or from all other regions of the world southwards or northwards, and in return you gave and sent them the fruits of your own bitterness and all things mischievous and hurtful that abominable and venomous souls are wont to generate. Was it these which revealed you to us as the new Dionysus ?

Or did you also emulate Heracles in your unwearied 90 labours, your tireless feats of courage ? Did you fill continents and islands with legality and justice, with fertility and prosperity and a lavish supply of the other boons which peace deep-founded creates ?—you the utterly ignoble, brimful of cowardice, who stripped the cities of all that tends to well-being and happiness and turned them into hotbeds of what makes for confusion and tumults and the height of misery. Is it because of the great harvests of your 91

Agrippina and Livilla to the Pontian islands on the charge of adultery and conspiracy see Suet. *Gaius* 24 and Dio lix. 22. 8.

- τοσαύταις φοραῖς, ὥς ἤνεγκας ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ, εἰπέ μοι, Γάιε, ζητεῖς ἀθανασίας μεταλαχεῖν, ἵνα μὴ ὀλιγοχρονίους καὶ ἑφημέρους ἀλλὰ ἀθανάτους ἀπεργάσῃ συμφοράς; ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τοῦναντίον, εἰ καὶ τις ἔδοξας γεγενῆσθαι θεός, πάντως ἂν σε μεταβαλεῖν ἔνεκα τῶν πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων εἰς θνητὴν φύσιν· εἰ γὰρ ἀθανατίζουσιν ἀρεταί, πάντως
 92 φθείρουσι κακίαι. μήτε οὖν ἐν Διοσκούροις γράφου τοῖς φιλαδελφοτάτοις, ὁ σφαγεὺς καὶ λυμεὼν τῶν ἀδελφῶν γεγονώς, μήτε Ἡρακλέους ἢ Διονύσου τιμῆς¹ κοινοπράγει τῶν τὸν βίον ὀνησάντων, ὁ κακωτῆς καὶ διαφθορεὺς ὧν ἔδρασαν ἐκεῖνοι.
- 93 XIII. Τοσαύτη δέ τις περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν λύττα καὶ παράφορος καὶ παράκοπος μανία, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἡμιθέους ὑπερβὰς ἐπανήει καὶ ἐπαπεδύετο τοῖς τῶν μειζόνων καὶ ἀμφιθαλῶν εἶναι δοκούντων σεβα-
 94 σμοῖς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἄρεως. Ἑρμοῦ τὸ πρῶτον, κηρυκείοις καὶ πεδίλοις καὶ χλαμύσιν ἐνσκευαζόμενος τάξιν τε ἐν ἀταξίᾳ καὶ τὸ ἀκόλουθον ἐν συγχύσει καὶ λογισμὸν ἐν φρενοβλαβείᾳ
 95 παρεπιδεικνύμενος· εἶτα, ὅποτε δόξειεν αὐτῷ, τὰ μὲν ἀπετίθετο, εἰς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνα μετεμorfοῦτο καὶ μετεσκευάζετο, στεφάνοις μὲν ἀκτινοειδέσι τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀναδούμενος, τόξον δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ καὶ βέλη κρατῶν χειρὶ, χάριτας δὲ τῇ

¹ MSS. τιμαῖς.

^a Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioscuri all had mortal mothers. See note on ἀμφιθαλὲς *Quod Omn. Prob.* 20 (vol. ix. p. 510).

^b Cf. Pausanias ix. 35. 3 Ἀγγελίων τε καὶ Τεκταῖος οἱ γε Διονύσου τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐργαζόμενοι τοῖς Δηλίοις τρεῖς ἐποίησαν

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 91-95

raising, Gaius, whose fruit is destruction, that you seek to partake of immortality so that you may produce calamities not short-lived nor ephemeral but everlasting? I think that on the contrary even if it appeared that you were one of the gods your evil practices would have caused you to change into the mortal kind of existence, for if virtues give immortality, vices certainly bring destruction. So then 92 you must not rank with the Dioscuri, those best of brothers, you who dealt murder and perdition to your brother, nor share the honour of Heracles or Dionysus who benefited the life of man, you who wrought havoc and corruption in what they had achieved.

XIII. So great a frenzy possessed him, so wild and delirious an insanity that leaving the demigods below he proceeded to advance upwards and armed himself to attack the honours paid by their worshippers to the deities held to be greater and divine on both sides,^a Hermes, Apollo and Ares. To take Hermes first, 94 he arrayed himself with herald's staffs, sandals and mantles, a grotesque exhibition of order in disorder, consistency in confusion, reason in derangement.

Then when it pleased him he 95 would strip them off and change his figure and dress into Apollo's, his head encircled with garlands of the sun-rays, wielding a bow and arrows in his left hand and holding out Graces^b in his right to signify

ἐνὶ τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ Χάριτας. Pausanias says nothing of the right hand and Plutarch, *De Musica* 16, says that the Graces were carried in the left hand, and the bow in the right. But coins believed to be copied from the Delian Apollo at Athens, which itself was a copy of the statue at Delos mentioned by Pausanias, bear out Philo's statement. See Frazer on Pausanias *l.c.*

δεξιᾷ προτείνων, ὥς δέον τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ ὀρέγειν ἐξ
 ἐτοίμου καὶ τετάχθαι τὴν βελτίονα τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ
 δεξιᾷ, τὰς δὲ κολάσεις ὑποστέλλειν καὶ τὴν κατα-
 δεεστέραν χώραν κεκληρῶσθαι τὴν ἐπ' εὐώνυμα.

96 χοροὶ τε εὐθύς εἰσθήκεσαν συγκεκροτημένοι, παιᾶ-
 νας εἰς αὐτὸν ᾄδοντες, οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ Βάκχον καὶ
 Εὐήιον καὶ Λυαῖον ὀνομάζοντες καὶ ὕμνοις γεραί-
 ροντες, ἥνίκα τὴν Διονυσιακὴν ἀνελάμβανε σκευήν.

97 πολλάκις δὲ καὶ θώρακα ἐνδύόμενος
 ξιφῆρης προΐει μετὰ κράνους καὶ ἀσπίδος, Ἄρης
 ἀνακαλούμενος· καὶ παρ' ἐκάτερα οἱ Ἄρεως τοῦ
 καινοῦ [καὶ νέου] θεραπευταὶ συμπροΐεσαν, ἀνδρο-
 φόνων καὶ δημοκοίνων θίασος, ὑπηρετήσαντες κα-
 κὰς ὑπηρεσίας φονῶντι καὶ διψῶντι ἀνθρωπείου

98 αἵματος. εἴτα τοῖς ταῦτα ὀρώσι κατά-
 πληξίς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ, καὶ ἐθαύμαζον, πῶς
 ὁ τάναντία δρῶν οἷς ἰσότημος εἶναι προαιρεῖται τὰς
 μὲν ἀρετὰς αὐτῶν ἐπιτηδεύειν οὐκ ἀξιοῖ, τοῖς δὲ
 παρασῆμοις εἰς ἕκαστον σκευάζεται. καίτοι τὰ
 περίαπτα ταῦτα καὶ προκοσμήματα ξοάνοις καὶ
 ἀγάλμασι προσκαθίδρυται, διὰ συμβόλων μηνύοντα

[560] τὰς ὠφελείας, | ἃς παρέχονται τῷ γένει τῶν ἀν-

99 θρώπων οἱ τιμώμενοι. πέδιλα Ἑρμῆς ὑποδεῖται
 πτερῶν ταρσοὺς ἔχοντα· διὰ τί; ἄρα οὐχ ὅτι
 προσήκει τὸν ἑρμηνέα καὶ προφήτην τῶν θεῶν,
 ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἑρμῆς ὠνόμασται, τὰ ἀγαθὰ διαγγέλλ-
 οντα—κακοῦ γὰρ οὐχ ὅτι θεὸς ἀλλ' οὐδὲ σοφὸς
 ἀνὴρ γίνεται μηνυτής—ποδωκέστατόν τε εἶναι καὶ
 μόνον οὐ πτηνὸν φέρεσθαι διὰ σπουδὴν ἀνυπέρ-
 θετον; ἐπειδὴ τὰ λυσιτελεῖ φθάνοντας εὐαγγελίζε-
 σθαι προσήκει, καθάπερ τὰ παλίμφημα μέλλοντας,

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 95-99

that it was fitting for him to extend good things readily and that these should hold the superior position on the right, while punishment should be kept in the background and allotted the inferior place on the left. And at once at his side singing paeans to 96 him stood drilled choirs of those who but now were calling him Bacchus or Evius or Lyaeus and honouring him with hymns when he was assuming the garb of Dionysus.

Often too he would don a 97 breastplate and proceed sword in hand, with helmet and shield, hailed as Ares, and on either side went a procession of the worshippers of the new Ares composed of homicides and official cut-throats to render their base service to a master avid for slaughter and thirsting for human blood. 98

Then those 98 who saw these things were struck with amazement at the strange contradiction, marvelling how one, whose actions were the opposite of those whose honours he purposed to share as their equal, did not think fit to practise their virtues and yet at the same time invested himself with their insignia each in turn. Yet surely these trappings and ornaments are set as accessories on images and statues as symbolically indicating the benefits which those thus honoured provide for the human race. Hermes is shod with sandals like out- 99 stretched wings, why? Is it not because it befits the interpreter (*ἑρμηνεύς*) and spokesman of things divine, whence also he gets his name of Hermes, that when he is the harbinger of good, since not even a wise man, much less a god, makes himself the announcer of evil, he should be very swift-footed, travelling with well-nigh the speed of wings in the zeal which brooks no delay. The news of things profitable should be carried quickly, bad news slowly if it is not permitted to

- 100 εἰ μὴ ἐπιτρέποι τις αὐτὰ ἡσυχάζεσθαι. πάλιν κηρύκειον ἀναλαμβάνει δείγμα συμβατηρίων σπονδῶν· πόλεμοι γὰρ ἀνοχὰς καὶ διαλύσεις λαμβάνουσι διὰ κηρύκων εἰρήνην καθισταμένων· οἱ δὲ ἀκήρυκτοι συμφορὰς ἀτελευτήτους ἀπεργάζονται καὶ
- 101 τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι καὶ τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις. Γάιος δὲ πρὸς τίνα χρεῖαν πέδιλα ἀνελάμβανεν; ἢ ἵνα τὰ δύσφημα καὶ δυσώνυμα, δέον ἡσυχάζεσθαι, βοηδρομηται τάχει συντόνῳ πάντῃ συνηχοῦντα; καίτοι τί κινήσεως ἐπεσπευσμένης ἔδει; μένων γὰρ κακὰ ἐπὶ κακοῖς ἀμύθητα ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀενάων πηγῶν εἰς
- 102 ἅπαντα τὰ μέρη τῆς οἰκουμένης ὤμβρει. τί δὲ δεῖ κηρυκείου τῷ μηδὲν εἰρηναῖόν ποτε μήτε εἰπόντι μήτε δράσαντι, πᾶσαν δὲ οἰκίαν καὶ πόλιν ἐμφυλίων ἀναπλήσαντι πολέμων κατὰ τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ βάρβαρον; ἀποθέσθω δὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἀφοσιωσάμενος τὴν ἀνοίκειον κλήσιν, ὁ ψευδώνυμος.
- 103 XIV. τί δὲ τῶν Ἀπολλωνιακῶν ἐμφερές ἐστι παρ' αὐτῷ; στέφανον ἀκτινωτὸν φορεῖ, εὖ πως ἀπομαζαμένου τὰς ἡλιακὰς ἀκτῖνας τοῦ τεχνίτου. ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἥλιος ἢ φῶς συνόλως ἀσπαστόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νύξ <καὶ σκότος> καὶ εἴ τι σκότους ἀφεγγέστερον εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐκνόμων ἔργων διάθεσιν; ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν καλὰ περιανγείας μεσημβρινῆς δεῖται πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν, τὰ δὲ αἰσχρά φασιν ἐσχατιᾷς Ταρτάρου, εἰς ὃν ἄξιον συνωθεῖσθαι δεόντως ἐπι
- 104 κρυφθησόμενα. μεταθέτω καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκατέρᾳ χειρὶ

^a He is alluding to the way in which ἀκήρυκτος comes to be applied to any truceless or exceptionally bitter conflict, with no thought whether heralds can enter it or not. Cf.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 99-104

leave it untold. Again Hermes assumes the herald's 100 staff as an emblem of covenants of reconciliation, for wars come to be suspended or ended through heralds establishing peace; wars where no heralds are admitted^a create endless calamities both for the assailants and the defenders. But for what useful 101 purpose did Gaius assume the sandals? Was it that everything of ill report and evil name, instead of being buried in silence, as it should be, might be noised abroad with impetuous speed and resound on every side? And yet what need was there for this activity in locomotion? Standing where he was, he rained miseries untold one after the other as from perennial fountains on every part of the inhabited world. And what need of the herald-staff had he 102 whose every word and deed was not for peace but filled every house and city throughout Greece and the outside world with intestine wars! No, let him shed Hermes, let him purge himself of his lying claim to a title so ill-fitting, the impostor! XIV. As 103

for the appurtenances of Apollo, what is there like them in Gaius? Apollo wears a crown adorned with rays, for the craftsman has managed to make a good copy of the rays of the sun, but was the sun or light in any form welcome to Gaius and not rather night and darkness or anything more rayless than darkness for disposing his lawless actions, since things noble and beautiful need the full brightness of noonday to show them forth, but the base and ugly need as they say deepest Tartarus into which they should be thrown to lie in the concealment which they deserve? Let him also transpose what he holds in either hand 104

§ 119. The play upon words involved cannot be reproduced in English.

- καὶ μὴ κιβδηλευέτω τὴν τάξιν. τὰ μὲν βέλη καὶ
 τόξα τῇ δεξιᾷ προφερέτω· βάλλειν γὰρ καὶ τοξεύειν
 εὐσκόπως οἶδεν ἄνδρας, γυναῖκας, συγγενείας ὅλας,
 105 εὐανδρούσας πόλεις, ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ παντελεῖ. τὰς δὲ
 χάριτας ἢ ῥυψάτω θάπτον ἢ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ συσκια-
 ζέτω· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἥσυχνεν αὐτῶν, προσοφθαλ-
 μίων καὶ προσκεχηνῶς ταῖς μεγάλαις οὐσίαις εἰς
 ἄρπαγὰς ἀδίκους, αἷς ἐπικατεσφάττοντο οἱ δεσπό-
 ται τῆς εὐτυχίας ἔνεκα κακοδαίμονοῦντες.
- 106 ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἱατρικὴν Ἀπόλλωνος εὖ πως μετε-
 χάραξεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ σωτηρίων φαρμάκων εὐρετὴς
 ἐγένετο πρὸς ὑγίαν ἀνθρώπων, ἀξιών καὶ τὰς
 ὑφ' ἐτέρων ἐγγινομένας νόσους αὐτὸς ἰᾶσθαι διὰ
 τὴν ἐκ φύσεως καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσεως ὑπερβάλλουσαν |
 [561] ἡμερότητα. ὁ δὲ ἔμπαλιν νόσους μὲν τοῖς ὑγιαί-
 107 νουσι, πηρώσεις δὲ τοῖς ὀλοκλήροις, καὶ συνόλως
 θανάτους τοῖς ζῶσι χειροποιήτους πρὸ τοῦ μοιριδίου
 χαλεποὺς ἐπέφερε, πάντα τὰ φθοροποιὰ χορηγίαις
 ἀφθόνοις παρεσκευασμένος, οἷς, εἰ μὴ ἔφθασε
 προαναιρεθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς δίκης [χρήσασθαι], κὰν τὸ
 108 ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει δοκιμώτατον ἤδη διέφθαρτο.
 πρὸς τοὺς γὰρ ἐν τέλει καὶ πλουσίους εὐτρεπεῖς
 ἦσαν αἱ παρασκευαί, καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν Ῥώμῃ
 καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ, παρ' οἷς ἄργυρος καὶ χρυσὸς
 τεθησαύριστα τοσοῦτος, ὥστε, εἰ σύμπας ὁ ἐξ
 ἀπάσης τῆς ἄλλης οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ περάτων αὐτῶν
 συνενεχθεῖη, πολλῶ καταδεέστερος ἂν εὐρεθῆναι.
 διὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς πατρίδος ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἱερᾶς

^a Lit. "he began from the sacred line." See § 22, pp. 12-15.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 104-108

and not falsify the arrangement; let him carry the bow and arrows in his right hand, for he knows how to use them both with a true aim against men and women, against whole families, against populous cities to bring them to utter perdition. But the 105 Graces he should either cast quickly away or carry them shaded in his left hand. For he put their beauty to shame when he fixed his greedy eyes and gaping mouth on great estates to work the unjust robberies which were crowned with the slaughter of their owners, whose prosperity was the cause of their miserable end.

He also managed to make 106 a fine recasting of Apollo's art of medicine. For Apollo became the inventor of salutary remedies promoting the health of mankind, deigning also to heal himself the maladies engendered by the actions of others in virtue of the supreme kindness which nature and practice gave him. Gaius on the other 107 hand brought disease to the healthy, crippling to the sound of limb and in general death to the living, death in cruel forms, the work of men anticipating that of fate. Every instrument of destruction he had provided with unstinted liberality whereby, had not his death at the hands of justice forestalled his use of them, all the most highly reputed part of the community in every city would already have perished. For he had all his arrangements ready to deal with 108 the magnates and the rich, particularly those in Rome and the rest of Italy, in whose possession there lay treasured such a great amount of gold and silver that if all contained in all the rest of the inhabited world from its very boundaries was gathered together it would be found to fall far short of it. And therefore^a with utter recklessness, he proceeded to cast

- ἤρχετο τὰ σπέρματα τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπορρίπτειν,¹ ὁ
 109 μισόπολις, ὁ δημοβόρος, ἡ λύμη, τὸ φθοροποιὸν
 λέγεται μὴ μόνον ἰατρός ἀλλὰ
 καὶ μάντις ἀγαθὸς Ἀπόλλων εἶναι, χρησμοῖς προ-
 λέγων τὰ μέλλοντα πρὸς ὠφέλειαν ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα
 μή τις ἐπισκiasθεὶς αὐτῶν² περὶ τὸ ἄδηλον ἀπρο-
 οράτως καθάπερ τυφλὸς τοῖς ἀβουλήτοις ὡς λυσι-
 τελεστάτοις ἐπιτρέχων ἐπεμπίπτῃ, προμαθὼν δὲ
 τὸ μέλλον ὡς ἤδη παρὸν καὶ βλέπων αὐτὸ τῇ
 διανοίᾳ οὐχ ἦττον ἢ τὰ ἐν χερσὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς σώ-
 ματος φυλάττεται, προνοούμενος τοῦ μηδὲν ἀνή-
 110 κεστον παθεῖν. ἄρα ἄξιον τούτοις ἀντιθεῖναι τὰ
 παλίμφημα Γαῖου λόγια, δι' ὧν πενίαι καὶ ἀτιμιαί
 καὶ φυγαὶ καὶ θάνατοι προεμηνύοντο τοῖς πανταχοῦ
 τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ δυνατῶν; τίς οὖν κοινωνία πρὸς
 Ἀπόλλωνα τῷ μηδὲν οἰκεῖον ἢ συγγενὲς ἐπιτε-
 τηδευκότι; πεπαύσθω καὶ ὁ ψευδώνυμος Παιᾶν
 τὸν ἀληθῆ Παιᾶνα μιμούμενος· οὐ γὰρ ὥσπερ
 τὸ νόμισμα παράκομμα καὶ θεοῦ μορφὴ γίνεται.
 111 XV. πάντα γε μὴν ἐλπίζειεν ἂν τις
 〈μᾶλλον〉 ἢ τοιοῦτον σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, ἄμφω
 μαλακὰ καὶ κατεαγότα, τῇ περὶ ἑκάτερον Ἀρεως
 ἀλκῇ δυνηθῆναί ποτε ἐξομοιωθῆναι· ὁ δὲ ὥσπερ
 ἐπὶ σκηνῆς ἐναλλάττων πολυειδῆ προσωπεῖα φαντα-
 112 σίαις ψευδέσιν ἡπάτα τοὺς ὀρώντας. φέρε δ' οὖν,
 μηδὲν τῶν περὶ σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν ἐξεταζέσθω³ διὰ
 τὴν ἐν πάσαις σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσεσιν ἄλλοτριότητα

¹ ? ἀπορρίπτων.

² mss. τῶν. Perhaps, as Mangey and others, to be ex-
 punged. ³ mss. ἐξετάζεσθαι.

^a ἐπεμπίπτειν may mean to fall upon (and seize). But
 that they "come a cropper" is suggested by the conclusion

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 108-112

away the seeds of peace from his homeland, city-hater, people-devourer, scourge and baleful pest.

Apollo is said to be not only a physician 109 but a good prophet, foretelling by his oracles the future for the benefit of men, lest any of them too beclouded to discern its uncertainties should, with no more foresight than the blind, expect high profit from what prove to be things he little welcomes when he races to them only to stumble and fall upon them,^a but with foreknowledge of the future as though it were now present and seeing it with his mind as clearly as he sees what lies before him with the eyes of his body, protect and secure himself against any fatal disaster. Can we rightly 110 place beside these those ominous pronouncements of Gaius by which the coming poverty, disfranchisement, exile, death were announced to the highly-placed and powerful everywhere? What fellowship then with Apollo has he whose conduct never showed any affinity or kinship? Falsely does he call himself Paeon, let him cease once for all to mimic the true Paeon, for a divine form cannot be counterfeited as a coin can be.

XV. And 111 surely the last thing one would expect is that such a body and soul as his, both of them feeble and nerveless, could ever be assimilated to the prowess of Ares in both. Yet like an actor wearing in turn many kinds of masks he beguiled the spectators with the deceptive appearances he assumed. Well, one need 112 not examine his characteristics of body and soul, since his every posture and movement showed the

of the very similar passage *Spec. Leg.* iii. 79 ἀπερισκέπτως καὶ ἀπροοράτως σώμασιν ὁμοῖ καὶ πράγμασιν ἐπεμπίπτοντες τυφλῶν τρόπον . . . οὐκ ἐλάττω ὧν διατιθέασι πάσχουσι.

- πρὸς τὸν εἰρημένον δαίμονα· τὴν Ἀρεως οὖν, οὐχὶ τοῦ μεμυθευμένου, τοῦ δὲ ἐν τῇ φύσει λόγου, ὃν ἀνδρεία κεκλήρωται, δύναμιν οὐκ ἴσμεν ἀλεξίκακον οὔσαν καὶ βοηθὸν καὶ παραστάτιν ἀδικουμένων, ὥς
- 113 καὶ αὐτό που δηλοῖ τοῦνομα; παρὰ γὰρ τὸ ἀρήγειν, ὅπερ βοηθεῖν ἐστι, κατὰ γλῶτταν Ἀρης ὠνομάσθαι μοι δοκεῖ, καθαιρετικὸς πολέμων, δημιουργὸς εἰρήνης, ἧς ἐχθρὸς μὲν ἦν ἕτερος, ἑταῖρος¹ δὲ πολέμων, τὴν εὐστάθειαν εἰς ταραχὰς καὶ
- [562] στάσεις μεθαρμοζόμενος.
- 114 XVI. | Ἄρά γε ἤδη μεμαθήκαμεν ἐκ τούτων, ὅτι οὐδενὶ θεῶν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἡμιθέων ἐξομοιοῦσθαι δεῖ Γάιον, μήτε φύσεως μήτε οὐσίας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ προαιρέσεως τετυχηκότα τῆς αὐτῆς; τυφλὸν δέ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ἡ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν προσλάβῃ κενοδοξίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλονεικίαν μετὰ τῆς μεγίστης ἐξουσίας, ὑφ' ἧς ἡμεῖς οἱ πρότερον εὐτυχεῖς² ἐπορ-
- 115 θούμεθα. μόνους γὰρ Ἰουδαίους ὑπεβλέπετο, ὥς δὴ μόνους τάναντία προηρημένους καὶ δεδιδαγμένους ἐξ αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ σπαργάνων ὑπὸ γονέων καὶ παιδαγωγῶν καὶ ὑφηγητῶν καὶ πολὺ πρότερον τῶν ἱερῶν νόμων καὶ ἔτι τῶν ἀγράφων ἑθῶν ἓνα νομίζειν τὸν πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ
- 116 κόσμου θεόν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες, ἄνδρες, γυναῖκες, πόλεις, ἔθνη, χώραι, κλίματα γῆς, ὀλίγου

¹ Some mss. omit ἕτερος, others ἑταῖρος.

² mss. ἀτυχεῖς.

^a i.e. the Ares which belongs to the order of things which is governed not by *μῦθος* but by *λόγος*, and is the deity whose special province among the virtues is, *ἀνδρεία*. How Mangey

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 112-116

difference which divided him from the deity in question. Surely we know the power of Ares, not the Ares of mythology, but the Ares of the realm of reason whom courage has taken for its own.^a That power is a defence from evil, the helper and champion of the wronged as its very name declares. For 113 under the name of Ares I think is disguised ἀρήγω, that is "help." That Ares is the destroyer of wars, the creator of peace. This other^b was the foe of peace, the friend of wars, the converter of stability into turmoil and faction.

XVI. Need we more than these proofs to teach us 114 that Gaius has no right to be likened to any of the gods or demigods either, for his nature, his substance, his purpose in life, is different from theirs? But passion we see to be a blind thing, particularly when it is reinforced by vanity and ambition, combined with possession of the supreme dominion which made havoc of our former prosperity. For he looked with 115 disfavour on the Jews alone because they alone opposed him on principle, trained as they were we may say even from the cradle, by parents and tutors and instructors and by the far higher authority^c of the sacred laws and also the unwritten customs, to acknowledge one God who is the Father and Maker of the world. For all others, men, women, cities, nations, 116 countries, regions of the earth, I might almost say

understood the words is not clear from his translation "(Martis) eius per quem naturalem fortitudinem intellegimus."

^b The imperfect shows that the "other" is Gaius rather than the Ares of mythology, though Philo may perhaps mean to equate the two in their vices.

^c So rather than "long before." For probable examples of this meaning of the phrase see note on *Flaccus* 10.

- δέω φάναι πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη, καίτοι στένοντες ἐπὶ τοῖς γινομένοις, οὐδὲν ἤττον ἐκολάκευον αὐτὸν ἀποσεμνύνοντες πλέον τοῦ μετρίου καὶ τὸν τύφον συναύζοντες. ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ἔθος εἰς Ἱταλίαν ἤγαγον, τὴν προσκύνησιν, τὸ εὐγενὲς τῆς
- 117 Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐλευθερίας παραχαράττοντες. ἐν δὲ μόνον ἔθνος ἐξαίρετον τῶν Ἰουδαίων ὑποπτον ἦν ἀντιπράξειν, εἰωθὸς ἐκουσίους ἀναδέχεσθαι θανάτους ὥσπερ ἀθανασίαν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν τῶν πατρίων περιδεῖν ἀναιρούμενον, εἰ καὶ βραχύτατον εἴη, διὰ τὸ καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων ὑφαίρειται ἑνὸς καὶ τὰ ἔτι παγίως ἐστάναι δοκοῦντα συμπίπτειν πρὸς τὸ κενωθὲν χαλῶμενα καὶ καταρ-
 118 ρέοντα. μικρὸν δὲ οὐκ ἦν τὸ κινούμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ὄντων, ἀνθρώπου γεννητὴν καὶ φθαρτὴν φύσιν εἰς ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀφθαρτον ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν θεοπλαστῆσαι, ὅπερ ἀσεβημάτων ἔκρινεν εἶναι χαλεπώτατον—θᾶττον γὰρ ἂν εἰς ἄνθρωπον θεὸν ἢ εἰς θεὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταβαλεῖν—, δίχα τοῦ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας τὰς ἀνωτάτω κακίας ἀναδέξασθαι, ἀπιστίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἀχαριστίαν πρὸς τὸν τοῦ κόσμου παντὸς εὐεργέτην, ὃς τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει τοῖς μέρεσι πᾶσι τοῦ παντὸς ἀφθόνους περιουσίας ἀγαθῶν ἐκδίδωσιν.
- 119 XVII. Μέγιστος οὖν καὶ ἀκήρυκτος πόλεμος ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει συνεκροτεῖτο. τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη δούλῳ βαρύτερον κακὸν ἢ δεσπότης ἐχθρός; δούλοι δὲ αὐτοκράτορος οἱ ὑπήκοοι, καὶ εἰ μηδενὸς ἐτέρου

^a Cf. *Ar. Rhet.* i. 5. 9 τὰ βαρβαρικά, οἷον προσκυνήσεις, where Jebb translates "salaams." See Sandys's note, which is to the effect that properly speaking προσκ. signifies kissing the hand to another rather than prostration or salaam, though

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 116-119

the whole inhabited world, groaning though they were at what was happening, flattered him all the same and magnified him out of all proportion and augmented his vanity. Some too even introduced into Italy the barbarian practice of prostrating themselves,^a a degradation of the high tradition of Roman freedom. One nation only standing apart, 117 the nation of the Jews, was suspected of intending opposition, since it was accustomed to accept death as willingly as if it were immortality, to save them from submitting to the destruction of any of their ancestral traditions, even the smallest, because as with buildings if a single piece is taken from the base, the parts that up to then seemed firm are loosened and slip away and collapse into the void thus made. But that displacement was of nothing 118 petty, but of the greatest of all that exists, when the created and corruptible nature of man was made to appear uncreated and incorruptible by a deification which our nation judged to be the most grievous impiety, since sooner could God change into a man than a man into God. Apart from that it included the supremely evil vices of infidelity and ingratitude to the Benefactor of the whole world who through His power bestows blessings poured in unstinted abundance on every part of the All.

XVII. So then a vast and truceless war was pre- 119 pared against the nation. For what greater curse can a slave have than a hostile master? Subjects are slaves of the absolute emperor, and if this is not true

the two probably often went together. They appear to be confused by Eur. *Orestes* 1507 προσκυνῶ σ', ἀναξ, νόμοισι βαρβάροισι προσπίτνων, but distinguished by Plato, *Legg.* x. 887 ε προκυλίσεις ἅμα καὶ προσκυνήσεις.

- τῶν προτέρων διὰ τὸ σὺν ἐπιεικείᾳ καὶ μετὰ νόμων ἄρχειν, ἀλλὰ τοι Γαῖου πᾶσαν ἐκτετμημένου τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμερότητα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐζήλωκόςτος— νόμον γὰρ ἡγούμενος ἑαυτὸν τοὺς τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ νομοθετῶν ὡς κενὰς ῥήσεις ἔλυσεν— ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ μόνον ἐν δούλοις ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλων τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις ἐγραφόμεθα τοῦ ἄρχοντος τρέποντος¹ εἰς δεσπότην.
- [563] 120 XVIII. | ὅπερ συναισθόμενος ὁ Ἀλεξανδρέων μιγὰς καὶ πεφορημένος ὄχλος ἐπέθετο ἡμῖν, καιρὸν ἐπιτηδειότατον παραπεπτωκέναι ὑπολαβῶν, καὶ τὸ τυφόμενον ἐκ μακρῶν χρόνων μῖσος ἀνέφηνε πάντα 121 κυκῶν καὶ συνταράττων. ὥς γὰρ ἐκδοθέντας εἰς ὁμολογουμένας καὶ τὰς ἀνωτάτω συμφορὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ἢ πολέμου κατακρατηθέντας² ἐκμανέσι καὶ θηριωδεστάταις ὀργαῖς κατειργάζοντο, ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπιτρέχοντες, τοὺς δεσπότης αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐλαύνοντες, ὡς κενὰς οἰκητόρων 122 ἀποφῆναι. ἐπιπλα καὶ κειμήλια οὐκέτι ὡς λησταὶ νύκτα καὶ σκότος ἐπιτηροῦντες διὰ φόβον ἀλώσεως ἔκλεπτον, ἀλλὰ φανερώς μεθ' ἡμέραν ἐξεφόρουν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ κεκληρονομηκότες ἢ πριάμενοι παρὰ τῶν κυρίων. εἰ δὲ καὶ πλείους συνέθεντο κοινοπραγῆσαι τῶν ἀρπαγῶν, τὴν λείαν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ διενέμοντο, πολλάκις ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν δεσποτῶν, κατακερτομοῦντες καὶ ἐπι- 123 χλευάζοντες. δεινὰ μὲν οὖν καθ' ἑαυτὰ καὶ ταῦτα· πῶς γὰρ οὐ; πένητας ἐκ πλουσίων καὶ ἀπόρους ἐξ εὐπόρων γεγενῆσθαι μηδὲν ἀδικοῦντας ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀνοίκους καὶ ἀνεστίους, ἐξεωσμένους καὶ πεφυγαδευμένους τῶν ἰδίων οἰκιῶν, ἵνα μεθ' ἡμέραν

¹ τρέπω intransitive in the active is otherwise unknown. τραπέντος has been suggested.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 119-123

of any of his predecessors since they ruled with moderation and observance of the law, it was indeed true of Gaius who had excised all kindness from his soul and zealously practised lawlessness. For considering that he himself was a law, he abrogated those laid down by legislators in the several states, treating them as empty talk. And we were ranked not only as slaves but as the most degraded slaves when the ruler changed into a despotic master. XVIII. The promiscuous and unstable rabble of the Alexandrians perceived this, and thinking that a very suitable opportunity had occurred, attacked us and brought to light the hatred which had long been smouldering, reducing everything to chaos and confusion. For treating us as persons given over by the emperor to suffer the extremity of calamity undisguised or as overpowered in war, they worked our ruin with insane and most brutal rage. They overran our houses, expelling the owners with their wives and children, and left them uninhabited. Then they stole the furniture and cherished valuables and, not needing now like robbers through fear of capture to watch for night and darkness, they carried them out openly in daylight and exhibited them to those whom they met as if they had inherited them or bought them from the owners. And if several agreed together to share the pillaging they divided the spoil in mid-market, often before the eyes of the owners, jeering and reviling them the while. These things are horrible in themselves, how could it be otherwise?—when the rich became poor, the well-to-do destitute, suddenly through no fault of their own rendered hearthless and homeless, outcasts and exiles from their own

² MSS. *κατακρήντας* or *κατηθέντας*.

- καὶ νύκτωρ ὕπαιθροι διατελοῦντες ἢ ταῖς ἀφ' ἡλίου
 φλογώσεσιν ἢ νυκτεριναῖς περιψύξεσι διαφθαρώσι.
 124 κουφότερα δὲ τῶν μελλόντων λέγεσθαι ταῦτα·
 συνελάσαντες γὰρ τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ
 καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τέκνων καθάπερ βοσκήματα καὶ
 θρέμματα ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς πόλεως εἰς μοῖραν ἐλα-
 χίστην οἶά τινα σηκόν, ὥγήθησαν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις
 σωροὺς ἀθρόων νεκρῶν ἐφευρήσειν ἢ λιμῶ διαφθα-
 ρέντων διὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐ προευντρεπισ-
 μένων τὰ ἐπιτήδεια κατὰ μαντείαν τῶν ἐξαπιναίων
 125 κακοπραγιῶν, ἢ δι' ὠθισμόν καὶ πνῖγος, μηδεμιᾶς
 εὐρυχωρίας προσφερομένης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ πέριξ
 ἀέρος κακωθέντος καὶ ὅσον ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωτικόν
 ταῖς ἀναπνοαῖς, εἰ δὲ δεῖ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, τοῖς
 ἐκπνεόντων ἄσθμασιν ἀποβαλόντος,¹ ὑφ' ὧν φλεγό-
 μενος καὶ τρόπον τινὰ καταβολῇ πυρετοῦ πιεσθεὶς
 θερμόν καὶ ἄτοπον πνεῦμα διὰ μυκτῆρων καὶ
 στόματος εἰσέπεμπε, τὸ λεγόμενον κατὰ τὴν παροι-
 126 μίαν πῦρ ἐπιφέρων πυρί. τῶν γὰρ ἐντὸς σπλάγχ-
 νων ἡ δύναμις ἐκ φύσεως φλογωδεστάτη καθέστη-
 κεν, ἦν ὅταν μὲν αἱ θύραθεν αὔραι μετρίως ψυχραὶ
 καταπνέωσιν, εὐδοεῖ τὰ τῆς ἀναπνοῆς ὄργανα ταῖς
 εὐκρασίαις, ὅταν δὲ μεταβάλωσι πρὸς τὸ θερμότε-
 ρον, ἀνάγκη δυσοδοῖν πυρὸς ἐπεισρέοντος πυρί.
 127 XIX. μηκέτι οὖν ὑπομένειν τὴν δυσ-
 [564] χωρίαν | οἱοί τε ὄντες ἐξεχέοντο εἰς ἐρημίας καὶ αἰ-
 γιαλοὺς καὶ μνήματα, γλιχόμενοι σπᾶσαι καθαροῦ
 καὶ ἀβλαβοῦς ἀέρος. εἰ δὲ τινες ἢ προκατελήφ-
 θησαν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις μέρεσι τῆς πόλεως ἢ ἀγνοία

¹ So Mangey, but apparently with no ms. authority. Reiter with mss. (one ὑπερβάλλοντος) prints ὑποβαλόντος. But I cannot see what meaning it can have here.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 123-127

houses, to dwell night and day under the open sky, and sent to their death by the burning heat of the sun or the freezing cold of the night. But all this is 124 light compared with what is still to be told. After driving all these many myriads of men, women, and children like herds of cattle out of the whole city into a very small portion as into a pen, they expected in a few days to find heaps of dead massed together, perished either by famine through lack of necessities, since having had no prophetic inkling of the sudden disasters they had not provided what was needed, or else through overcrowding and stifling heat. For no 125 sufficiency of room was obtainable, and the air was vitiated and lost all its life-giving properties through the respirations or, to give them their true name, the gasps of expiring men. Inflamed by these and heavily labouring under something like an attack of fever it injected hot and noisome breath through the mouth and nostrils, adding fire to fire, to use the proverbial phrase. For our internal parts as 126 constituted by nature work^a at a very great heat, and when the outside airs which ventilate them are fairly cool, the favourable combination keeps the organs of respiration in good order, but when the atmosphere changes to a higher temperature and one stream of fire is added to another these organs are bound to get out of order. XIX. So 127

the Jews, unable to endure any longer the painful want of space, poured out into deserted spots and beaches and tombs, eager to get a breath of pure and innocuous air. And if any were caught in the other parts of the city before they could escape or

^a *δύναμις* in this usage seems to imply function as well as nature.

τῶν κατασκευψάντων κακῶν ἀγρόθεν παρεγένοντο, πολυτρόπων ἀπέλαυνον συμφορῶν, ἢ καταλευόμενοι ἢ κεράμῳ τιτρωσκόμενοι ἢ πρίνου κλάδοις καὶ δρυὸς τὰ καιριώτατα¹ μέρη τοῦ σώματος καὶ μάλιστα κεφαλὴν ἄχρι θανάτου καταγνύμενοι.

128 περικαθήμενοι δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τινὲς τῶν ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν εἰωθότων τοὺς συνεληλαμένους καὶ συνεωσμένους εἰς ἐσχατιᾶς βραχύ τι μέρος, ὡς ἔφην, καθάπερ τοὺς τειχήρεις γεγονότας ἐπετήρουν, μή τις ὑπεξέλθῃ λαθών. ἔμελλον δὲ ἄρα οὐκ ὀλίγοι διὰ σπάνιν τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀλογήσαντες τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας ἐξιέναι, δέει τοῦ μὴ λιμῷ πανοίκιοι παραπολέσθαι. τούτων τὰς διαδύσεις² караδοκοῦντες ἐπετήρουν καὶ τοὺς συλληφθέντας εὐθὺς διέφθειρον αἰκιζόμενοι πάσαις αἰκίαις.

129 ἕτερος δὲ λόχος ἦν ἐφεδρεῦναι τοῖς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λιμέσι πρὸς ἄρπαγὴν τῶν καταγομένων Ἰουδαίων καὶ ὧν κατ' ἐμπορίαν ἐκόμιζον· ἐπεισβαίνοντες γὰρ ταῖς ναυσὶ τὸν φόρτον ἐν ὄψεσι τῶν κυρίων ἐξεφόρουν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξαγκωνίζοντες ἐνεπίμπρασαν, ὕλη χρώμενοι πηδαλίοις, οἶαξι, κοντοῖς καὶ ταῖς
130 ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων σανίσιν.

τοῖς δὲ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ πόλει κατακαιομένοις οἰκτρότατος ἦν ὀλεθρος· σπάνει γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε ξύλων φρύγανα συνεφόρουν καὶ ταῦτα ἀνάψαντες ἐπερρίπτουν τοῖς ἀθλοῖς· οἱ δὲ ἡμίφλεκτοι καπνῷ τὸ πλεόν ἢ πυρὶ διεφθείροντο, τῆς φρυγανώδους ὕλης πῦρ μὲν ἀμνηνὸν καὶ καπνώδες ἐξαπτούσης καὶ αὐτίκα σβεννυμένης, ἀνθρακοῦσθαι δὲ διὰ κουφότητα μὴ

¹ MSS. κυριώτατα.

² So Mangey.—Reiter with MSS. διαλύσεις (one MS. διελύσεις).

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 127-130

if they came up from the country in ignorance of the disasters which had fallen upon us they experienced manifold misfortunes, being stoned or wounded by tiles or branches of ilex or oak in the most vital parts of the body and particularly in the head, the fracture of which proved fatal.

Some of the habitual idlers and loungers would 128 make a circle round the Jews who, as I have said, had been driven and thrust together into a small part of the extremity of the city, and sit there watching them as though they were in a besieged fortress lest anyone should escape unseen. It was of course certain that several in lack of necessities would, regardless of their own safety, sally out through fear of their whole household being starved to death. A close watch was kept for these attempts to slip through and when any were caught they were at once dispatched by their enemies with every possible maltreatment. There was another 129 company who lay in waiting at the harbours of the river to rob the Jews who put in there and seize the goods which they were bringing for trade. They boarded the vessels and carried out the cargo before the eyes of the owners, whom they pinioned and burnt, using for fuel rudders, tillers, poles and the planks on the decks.

Most pitiable was 130 the fate of those who were burnt to death in the middle of the city. For sometimes through lack of proper wood they collected brushwood and after setting it on fire threw it upon the unhappy victims, who perished half burnt more through the smoke than by the fire. For brushwood produces a feeble and smoky flame which is at once extinguished since its slightness prevents it from burning steadily like

- 131 δυναμένης. πολλοὺς δὲ ἔτι ζῶντας ἱμάσι καὶ βρόχοις περιβαλόντες καὶ ἐπισφίγγαντες τὰ σφυρὰ διὰ μέσης κατέσυρον ἀγορᾶς ἐναλλόμενοι καὶ μηδὲ νεκρῶν ἀπεχόμενοι τῶν σωμάτων· διαρτῶντες γὰρ αὐτὰ κατὰ μέλη καὶ μέρη καὶ πατοῦντες οἱ καὶ τῶν ἀτιθάσων θηρίων ὠμότεροι καὶ ἀγριώτεροι πᾶσαν ἰδέαν ἐξανήλiskon, ὥς μηδὲ λείψανον γοῦν ὃ δυνήσεται ταφῆς ἐπιλαχεῖν ὑπολιπέσθαι.
- 132 XX. Τοῦ δὲ ἐπιτρόπου τῆς χώρας, ὃς μόνος ἐδύνατο βουληθεὶς ὥρα μιᾷ τὴν ὀχλοκρατίαν καθελεῖν, προσποιουμένου ἅ τε ἑώρα μὴ ὀρᾶν καὶ ὧν ἤκουε μὴ ἐπακούειν, ἀλλ' ἀνέδην ἐφείντος πολεμοποιεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην συγχέοντος, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξοτρυνόμενοι πρὸς ἀναισχύντους καὶ θρα-
 [565] συτέρας ὥρμησαν | ἐπιβουλὰς καὶ συνταξάμενοι στίφη πολυανθρωπότατα τὰς προσευχάς¹—πολλαὶ δὲ εἰσι καθ' ἕκαστον τμήμα τῆς πόλεως—τὰς μὲν ἐδενδροτόμησαν τὰς δὲ αὐτοῖς θεμελίους κατέσκαψαν, εἰς αἷς δὲ καὶ πῦρ ἐμβαλόντες ἐνέπρησαν, ὑπὸ λύττης καὶ μανίας ἑκφρονος ἀλογήσαντες καὶ τῶν πλησίον οἰκίων· πυρὸς γάρ, ὁπότε λάβοιτο
 133 ὕλης, οὐδὲν ὠκύτερον. καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς συγκαθαιρεθείσας καὶ συμπρησθείσας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων τιμὰς ἀσπίδων καὶ στεφάνων ἐπιχρύσων καὶ στήλων καὶ ἐπιγραφῶν, δι' αἷ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὥφειλον ἀνέχειν· ἀλλ' ἐθάρρουν ἅτε τὴν ἐκ Γαίτου τίσιν οὐ δεδιότες, ὃν εὖ ἠπίσταντο μῖσος ἄλεκτον ἔχοντα πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, ὥς ὑπονοεῖν, ὅτι οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ χαρίζοιτο μείζον ἢ πάσας κακῶν ἰδέας
 134 ἐπιφέρων τῷ ἔθνει. βουλόμενοι δὲ καινοτέραις

¹ MSS. ταῖς προσευχαῖς.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 130-134

coal. Many too, while still alive, they tied with 131
thongs and nooses and, binding fast their ankles,
dragged them through the middle of the market,
leaping on them and not even sparing their dead
bodies. For, more brutal and savage than fierce wild
beasts, they severed them limb from limb and piece
from piece and trampling on them destroyed every
lineament, so that not even the least remnant was left
which could receive burial.

XX. When the governor of the country, who, if he 132
wished, could have by himself suppressed in a single
hour the tyranny of the mob, pretended not to see
what he saw and not to hear what he heard but
allowed them to wage war unrestrainedly and so
wrecked the peace, they became still more excited
and pressed forward to carry out shameless designs
of a bolder kind. They collected great bodies of
men to attack the meeting-houses, of which there are
many in each section of the city. Some they ravaged,
others they demolished with the foundations as well,
others they set fire to and burnt regardless in their
frenzy and insane fury of the fate of the neighbouring
houses, for nothing runs faster than fire when it gets
hold of something to feed it. I say nothing of the 133
tributes to the emperors which were pulled down or
burnt at the same time, the shields and gilded crowns
and the slabs and inscriptions, consideration for which
should have made them spare the rest. But they
were emboldened by having no fear of the ven-
geance of Gaius. They knew well that he had an
indescribable hatred of the Jews, and so they sur-
mised that nothing anyone could do would gratify
him more than the infliction on the nation of every
kind of ill-treatment. And as they wished to in- 134

- κολακείαις ὑπελθόντες αὐτὸν ἀνυπευθύνους χρῆσθαι κατὰ τὸ παντελὲς ταῖς εἰς ἡμᾶς ἐπηρείαις τί ποιοῦσι; προσευχὰς ὅσας μὴ ἐδυνήθησαν ἐμπρήσει καὶ κατασκαφαῖς ἀφανίσαι διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς καὶ ἀθρόους πλησίον οἰκεῖν Ἰουδαίους ἕτερον τρόπον ἐλυμήναντο μετὰ τῆς τῶν νόμων καὶ ἐθῶν ἀνατροπῆς· εἰκόνας γὰρ ἐν ἀπάσαις μὲν ἰδρύνοντο Γαῖου, ἐν δὲ τῇ μεγίστῃ καὶ περισημοτάτῃ καὶ
 135 ἀνδριάντα χαλκοῦν ἐποχούμενον τεθρίππῳ. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἦν τὸ τάχος καὶ τὸ σύντονον τῆς σπουδῆς, ὥστε οὐκ ἔχοντες ἐν ἐτοίμῳ καινὸν τέθριππον ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου παλαιότατον <ἐκόμιζον> ἰοῦ γέμον, ἡκρωτηριασμένον ὦτα καὶ οὐρὰς καὶ βάσεις καὶ ἕτερα οὐκ ὀλίγα, ὥς δέ φασί τινες καὶ ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς ἀνατεθὲν τῆς ἀρχαίας Κλεοπάτρας, ἣτις
 136 ἦν προμάμμη τῆς τελευταίας. ἡλικὴν μὲν οὖν καθ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοῖς ἀναθεῖσιν ἐπέφερε κατηγορίαν, παντί τῳ δηλόν. τί γάρ, εἰ [καὶ] καινὸν γυναικός; τί δέ, εἰ παλαιὸν ἀνδρός; τί δέ, εἰ συνόλως ἐπιφημισθὲν ἑτέρῳ; τοὺς τοιοῦτον ἀνατιθέντας ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος οὐκ εἰκὸς ἦν εὐλαβηθῆναι, μή τις γένηται μήνυσις τῷ πάντα σεμνοποιοῦντι
 137 τὰ καθ' αὐτὸν διαφερόντως; οἱ δέ γε ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος ἡλπίζον ἐπαινεθήσεσθαι καὶ μειζόνων καὶ λαμπροτέρων ἀπολαύσειν ἀγαθῶν ἕνεκα τοῦ καινὰ τεμένη προσαναθεῖναι Γαίῳ τὰς προσευχὰς,

* The meaning as I understand it is that while the fact that the statue was an old one, or that that the figure represented by it was a female, would each of them separately have disqualified the statue, it is unnecessary to press them as the mere fact that it had been dedicated to someone else was enough to show its impropriety.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 134-137

gratiate themselves with him by further novelties in flattering and so secure complete immunity for their maltreatment of us, what do you suppose they did? The meeting-houses which they could not raze or burn out of existence, because so many Jews live massed together in the neighbourhood, they outraged in another way, thereby overthrowing our laws and customs. For they set up images of Gaius in them all and in the largest and most notable a bronze statue of a man mounted on a chariot and four. And ¹³⁵ so speedy and impetuous were they in their eagerness, that not having a new chariot of the kind at hand they fetched a very old one out of the gymnasium, a mass of rust with the ears, tails, feet and many other parts mutilated, and as some say dedicated to the honour of a woman, the original Cleopatra, great-grand-mother of the last queen of that name. What a serious charge this in itself ¹³⁶ entailed upon the dedicators is obvious to everyone. What does it matter if it was the new chariot of a woman? What if it was an old chariot of a man?^a As long as the general fact remains that it had been dedicated to someone else? Might not the authors of an offering of this kind in honour of the emperor reasonably feel alarm lest some information should be laid before one who always particularly insisted on his personal glorification? No doubt they had ¹³⁷ extravagant^b hopes of getting praise and reaping greater and more splendid benefits for turning our meeting-houses into new and additional precincts consecrated to him, though their motive was not

^b For the common phrase *ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος* see note on *De Vit. Cont.* 63, where among its uses intensification of an action or creation of a superlative are given. So here.

οὐχ ἕνεκα τιμῆς τῆς εἰς ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
πάντα τρόπον ἐμφορεῖσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει κακο-

138 [566] πραγιῶν. ἐναργεῖς δὲ πίστεις | λαβεῖν

ἔστι· πρῶτον μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλέων· δέκα που
σχεδὸν ἢ καὶ πλείονων ἐν τριακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἐξῆς
γενομένων, ἀνάθεσιν εἰκόνων ἢ ἀνδριάντων ἐν
προσευχαῖς οὐδεμίαν ἐποιήσαντο, καίτοι γε οἰκείων
ὄντων καὶ συγγενῶν, οὓς θεοὺς καὶ ἐνόμιζον καὶ

139 ἔγραφον καὶ ἐκάλουν. τί δὲ οὐκ ἔμελλον ἀνθρώπους
γε ὄντας οἱ κύνας καὶ λύκους καὶ λέοντας καὶ
κροκοδείλους καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα θηρία καὶ ἔνυδρα
καὶ χερσαῖα καὶ πτηνὰ θεοπλαστοῦντες, ὑπὲρ ὧν
βωμοὶ καὶ ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὶ καὶ τεμένη κατὰ πᾶσαν

140 Αἴγυπτον ἰδρυνται; XXI. τάχα που νῦν
φῆσουσι τότε οὐκ ἂν εἰπόντες—τὰς γὰρ τῶν ἀρχόν-
των εὐπραγίας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοὺς
εἰώθασι θεραπεύειν—, ὅτι μείζους μὲν οἱ αὐτοκρά-
τορες τὰ ἀξιώματα καὶ τὰς τύχας τῶν Πτολεμαίων
εἰσὶ, μειζόνων δὲ καὶ τιμῶν τυγχάνειν ὀφείλουσιν.

141 εἶτα, ὦ πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ἵνα μηδὲν ἀναγκασθῶ
βλάσφημον εἰπεῖν, εὐηθέστατοι, διὰ τί τὸν πρὸ
Γαῖου Τιβέριον, ὃς κακείνω τῆς ἡγεμονίας αἷτιος
γένεονε, τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσιν ἔτη γῆς καὶ θαλάσ-
σης ἀναψάμενον τὸ κράτος καὶ μηδὲ σπέρμα
πολέμου μήτε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα μήτε κατὰ τὴν
βάρβαρον ὑποτυφόμενον ἐάσαντα, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην
καὶ τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης ἀγαθὰ παρασχόμενον ἄχρι τῆς
τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς ἀφθόνῳ καὶ πλουσίᾳ χειρὶ καὶ

142 γνώμῃ, τῆς ὁμοίας τιμῆς οὐκ ἠξιώσατε; τὸ γένος
ἦν ἐλάττων; ἀλλ' εὐγενέστατος κατ' ἀμφοτέρους
τοὺς γονεῖς. ἀλλὰ τὴν παιδείαν; καὶ τίς ἦν
φρονιμώτερος ἢ λογιώτερος ἐκείνου τῶν κατ' αὐτόν

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to honour him but to take their fill in every way of the miseries of our nation. We can 138 find clear proofs of this. Take first the kings of Egypt. In three hundred years there was a succession of some ten or more of these, and none of them had any images or statues set up for them in our meeting-houses by the Alexandrians, although they were of the same race and kin as the people and were acknowledged, written and spoken of by them as gods. It was only natural that they who at any rate 139 were men should be so regarded by those who deified dogs and wolves and lions and crocodiles and many other wild animals on the land, in the water and the air, for whom altars and temples and shrines and sacred precincts have been established through the whole of Egypt. XXI. Perhaps they will 140 now say what they would not have said then, since it is their way to pay more court to the good fortunes of rulers than to the rulers themselves, that the emperors are superior to the Ptolemies in prestige and fortune and deserve to receive superior honours. Tell me, you of all men most foolish, for I do not wish 141 to be forced into abusive language, what of Gaius's predecessor Tiberius from whom he derived his sovereignty, who for twenty-three years was invested with dominion over sea and land and did not let the smallest spark of war smoulder in Greece or the world outside Greece, and to the very end of his life provided peace and the blessings of peace with a rich and unstinting hand and heart? Did you not deem him worthy of like honour? Was he inferior 142 in birth? No, his birth was of the highest on both sides of his parentage. In culture? who was a greater master of thought or of language among

ἀκμασάντων; ἀλλὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν; καὶ ποῖος μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλέων ἢ αὐτοκρατόρων εὐγέρως; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔτι νέος ὢν ὁ πρεσβύτης ἐλέγετο δι' αἰδῶ τὴν περὶ τὴν ἀγχίνοιαν. οὗτος οὖν ὁ τοιοῦτος καὶ τοσοῦτος ὑμῖν παρώφθη καὶ παρεσύρη.

143 Τί δέ; ὁ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν ὑπερβαλὼν ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς ἀρεταῖς, ὁ διὰ μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας αὐτοκρατοῦς ὁμοῦ καὶ καλοκαγαθίας πρῶτος ὀνομασθεὶς Σεβαστός, οὐ διαδοχῇ γένους ὥσπερ τι κλήρου μέρος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν λαβὼν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς γενόμενος ἀρχὴ σεβασμοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἔπειτα; ὁ τοῖς μὲν πράγμασι τεταραγμένοις καὶ συγκεχυμένοις ἐπιστάς, ὅτε εὐθύς παρῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν κοινῶν

144 ἐπιμέλειαν; νῆσοι γὰρ πρὸς ἡπείρους καὶ ἡπειροὶ πρὸς νήσους περὶ πρωτείων ἀντεφιλονεῖκουσιν ἡγεμόνας ἔχουσαι καὶ προαγωνιστὰς Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐν τέλει δοκιμωτάτους· καὶ αὖθις τὰ μεγάλα τμήματα τῆς οἰκουμένης, Ἀσία πρὸς Εὐρώπην καὶ Εὐρώπην πρὸς Ἀσίαν, ἡμιλλῶντο περὶ κράτους ἀρχῆς, τῶν Εὐρωπαίων καὶ Ἀσιανῶν ἔθνῶν ἀπὸ ἐσχάτων γῆς ἀναστάντων καὶ βαρεῖς πολέμους |

[567] ἀντεπιφερόντων διὰ πάσης γῆς καὶ θαλάττης πεζομαχίαις (καὶ ναυμαχίαις), ὥς μικροῦ σύμπαν τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος ἀναλωθὲν ταῖς ἀλληλοκτονίαις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀφανισθῆναι, εἰ μὴ δι' ἓνα ἄνδρα καὶ ἡγεμόνα, τὸν Σεβαστὸν [οἶκον], ὃν ἄξιον καλεῖν

145 ἀλεξίκακον. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὁ τοὺς καταρράξαντας πανταχόθι χεიმῶνας εὐδιάσας, ὁ τὰς κοινὰς νόσους Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων ἰασάμενος, αἱ κατέβησαν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καὶ

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those who were in the prime of life in his time? In length of days? and which of the kings or emperors reached a longer and happier old age, not but what while still in his youth he was called the old man out of respect for his shrewdness? Such and so great was he who was overlooked and brushed aside by you.

Again, consider him who in all the virtues transcended human nature, who on account of the vastness of his imperial sovereignty as well as nobility of character was the first to bear the name of the August or Venerable, a title received not through lineal succession as a portion of its heritage but because he himself became the source of the veneration which was received also by those who followed him; who from the moment that he had charge of the common weal took in hand the troubled and chaotic condition of affairs. For islands were engaged with continents in fierce rivalry for primacy, and continents with islands, all having for their leaders and champions those of the Romans in great positions who stood foremost in repute. And again the great regions which divide the habitable world, Europe and Asia, were contending with each other for sovereign power with the nations of both brought up from the uttermost parts of the earth waging grievous war all over sea and land, battling on either element, so that the whole human race exhausted by mutual slaughter was on the verge of utter destruction, had it not been for one man and leader Augustus whom men fitly call the averter of evil. This is the Caesar who calmed the torrential storms on every side, who healed the pestilences common to Greeks and barbarians, pestilences which descending from the

- ἐώων, ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ μέχρι δύσεως καὶ πρὸς
 ἄρκτον, τὰ μεθόρια χωρία καὶ πελάγη κατασπεί-
 ρασαι τῶν ἀβουλήτων· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ τὰ δεσμά, οἷς
 κατέζευκτο καὶ ἐπεπίεστο ἡ οἰκουμένη, παραλύσας,
 146 οὐ μόνον ἀνείς· οὗτος ὁ καὶ τοὺς φανεροὺς καὶ
 ἀφανεῖς πολέμους διὰ τὰς ἐκ ληστῶν ἐπιθέσεις
 ἀνελών· οὗτος ὁ τὴν θάλατταν πειρατικῶν μὲν
 σκαφῶν κενὴν ἐργασάμενος, φορτίδων δὲ πληρώ-
 147 σας. οὗτος ὁ τὰς πόλεις ἀπάσας εἰς ἐλευθερίαν
 ἐξελόμενος, ὁ τὴν ἀταξίαν εἰς τάξιν ἀγαγών, ὁ τὰ
 ἄμικτα ἔθνη καὶ θηριώδη πάντα ἡμερώσας καὶ
 ἄρμοσάμενος, ὁ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα Ἑλλάσι πολλαῖς
 παραυξήσας, τὴν δὲ βάρβαρον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιο-
 τάτοις τμήμασιν ἀφελληνίσας, ὁ εἰρηνοφύλαξ, ὁ
 διανομὲς τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων ἐκάστοις, ὁ τὰς
 χάριτας ἀταμιεύτους εἰς μέσον προθείς, ὁ μηδὲν
 ἀποκρυψάμενος ἀγαθὸν ἢ καλὸν ἐν ᾧ παντὶ τῷ
 148 ἑαυτοῦ βίῳ. XXII. τοῦτον οὖν τὸν τοσοῦτον
 εὐεργέτην ἐν τρισὶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἐνιαυτοῖς,
 οὓς ἐπεκράτησεν Αἰγύπτου, παρεκαλύψαντο, μηδὲν
 ἐν προσευχαῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, μὴ ἄγαλμα, μὴ ξόανον,
 149 μὴ γραφὴν ἰδρυσάμενοι. καὶ μὴν εἴ τι καὶ καινὰς
 καὶ ἐξαιρέτους ἔδει ψηφίζεσθαι τιμὰς, ἐκείνῳ
 προσήκον ἦν, οὐ μόνον ὅτι τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γένους
 ἀρχὴ τις ἐγένετο καὶ πηγὴ, οὐδὲ ὅτι πρῶτος καὶ μέ-
 γιστος καὶ κοινὸς εὐεργέτης, ἀντὶ πολυαρχίας ἐνὶ
 κυβερνήτῃ παραδοὺς τὸ κοινὸν σκάφος οἰακονομεῖν
 ἑαυτῷ, θαυμασίῳ τὴν ἡγεμονικὴν ἐπιστήμην—τὸ

* On the technical law term ἐξελεῖσθαι εἰς ἐλευθερίαν see
Dict. of Ant. s.v. ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη "If a reputed slave wished

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south and the east coursed to the west and north sowing the seeds of calamity over the places and waters which lay between. This is he who not only 146 loosed but broke the chains which had shackled and pressed so hard on the habitable world. This is he who exterminated wars both of the open kind and the covert which are brought about by the raids of brigands. This is he who cleared the sea of pirate ships and filled it with merchant vessels. This is 147 he who reclaimed every state to liberty,^a who led disorder into order and brought gentle manners and harmony to all unsociable and brutish nations, who enlarged Hellas by many a new Hellas and hellenized the outside world in its most important regions, the guardian of the peace, who dispensed their dues to each and all, who did not hoard his favours but gave them to be common property, who kept nothing good and excellent hidden throughout his life. XXII. This 148 great benefactor they ignored during the forty-three years in which he was sovereign of Egypt, and set up nothing in our meeting-houses in his honour, neither image, nor bust, nor painting. And yet if it was 149 right to decree new and exceptional honours to anyone, he was the proper person to receive them. He was what we may call the source and fountain-head of the Augustan stock in general. He was also the first and the greatest and the common benefactor in that he displaced the rule of many and committed the ship of the commonwealth to be steered by a single pilot, that is himself, a marvellous master of the science of government. For there is justice in the

to recover his rights as a freeman he could only do so with the assistance of one who was himself a freeman and was said *ἐξαιρείσθαι αὐτὸν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν*."

- γὰρ “ οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη ” λέλεκται δεόν-
τως, ἐπειδὴ πολυτρόπων αἵτιαι κακῶν αἱ πολυ-
ψηφίαι—, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη τὰς
150 ἰσολυμπίους αὐτῷ τιμὰς ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ μαρτυ-
ροῦσι ναοί, προπύλαια, προτεμενίσματα, στοαί, ὡς
ᾧσαι τῶν πόλεων, ἢ νέα ἢ παλαιά, ἔργα φέρουσι
μεγαλοπρεπῆ, τῷ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει τῶν Και-
σαρείων παρενημερεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα κατὰ τὴν
151 ἡμετέραν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. οὐδὲν γὰρ τοι-
οῦτόν ἐστι τέμενος, οἷον τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβαστεῖον,
ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς, <ὅς> ἀντικρὺ τῶν
εὐορμοτάτων λιμένων μετέωρος ἱδρυται μέγιστος
[568] καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος καὶ | οἷος οὐχ ἑτέρωθι κατὰ-
πλεως ἀναθημάτων, [ἐν] γραφαῖς καὶ ἀνδριάσι
καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ περιβεβλημένος ἐν κύκλῳ,
τέμενος εὐρύτατον στοαῖς, βιβλιοθήκαις, ἀνδρῶ-
σιν, ἄλσεσι, προπυλαίοις, εὐρυχωρίαις, ὑπαίθροις,
ἅπασιν τοῖς εἰς πολυτελέστατον κόσμον ἡσκημένον,
ἐλπίς καὶ ἀναγομένοις καὶ καταπλέουσι σωτήριος.
- 152 XXIII. ἔχοντες οὖν τοιαύτας ἀφορμὰς
καὶ τοὺς πανταχοῦ πάντας ὁμογνώμονας οὔτε περὶ
τὰς προσευχὰς ἐνεωτέρισαν καὶ καθ’ ἕκαστον <τὸ>
νόμιμον ἐφύλαξαν· ἢ τινα σεβασμὸν παρέλιπον τῶν
ὀφειλομένων Καίσαρι; καὶ τίς ἂν εὖ φρονῶν

^a Il. ii. 204. The passage is quoted more fully in *De Conf.* 170.

^b The other place where this word is known is Thuc. iii. 10. 5, where the Mitylenaeans say that the members of the

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saying "It is not well that many lords should rule,"^a since multiplicity of suffrages^b produces multiform evils. But besides all these the whole habitable world voted him no less than celestial honours. These are so well attested by temples, gateways, 150 vestibules, porticoes, that every city which contains magnificent works new and old is surpassed in these by the beauty and magnitude of those appropriated to Caesar and particularly in our own Alexandria.

For there is elsewhere no precinct like 151 that which is called the Sebasteum, a temple to Caesar on shipboard,^c situated on an eminence facing the harbours famed for their excellent moorage, huge and conspicuous, fitted on a scale not found elsewhere with dedicated offerings, around it a girdle of pictures and statues in silver and gold, forming a precinct of vast breadth, embellished with porticoes, libraries, chambers, groves, gateways and wide open courts and everything which lavish expenditure could produce to beautify it—the whole a hope of safety to the voyager either going into or out of the harbour.

XXIII. Though they had such 152 grounds for action and could command the approval of all men everywhere they brought no violence to bear upon the meeting-houses and observed the law in every respect. Or did they neglect any mark of the reverence that was due to Caesar? No one in his senses would say that they did. Why

confederacy of Delos could not unite to resist the encroachments of the Athenians *διὰ τὴν πολυψήφον*. It does not seem very appropriate here.

^c *i.e.* commemorating the voyage of Augustus which led to the surrender of Alexandria on 1st Aug. 30 B.C. Dr. Cook compares coins found in Alexandria bearing the image of a ship with the inscription *σεβαστόφορος*.

- εἴποι; διὰ τί οὖν ἐστέρησαν;¹ ἐγὼ φράσω μηδὲν
 153 ὑποστειλάμενος. ἤδεσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ
 ὅτι τοσαύτην ποιεῖται τῆς βεβαιώσεως τῶν παρ'
 ἑκάστοις πατρίων, ὅσην καὶ τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν, καὶ
 ὅτι δέχεται τὰς τιμὰς οὐκ ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τῶν παρ'
 ἐνίοις νομίμων τυφοπλαστῶν ἑαυτόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ
 154 μεγέθει τῆς τοσαύτης ἡγεμονίας ἐπόμενος, ἥ διὰ
 τῶν τοιούτων πέφυκε σεμνοποιεῖσθαι. τοῦ δὲ μὴ
 ταῖς ὑπερόγκοις τιμαῖς δεθῆναι² καὶ φυσηθῆναι ποτε
 πίστις ἐναργεστάτη τὸ μηδέποτε θεὸν ἑαυτὸν
 ἐθελῆσαι προσειπεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἄν εἰ λέγοι τις δυσ-
 χεραίνειν, καὶ τὸ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποδέχεσθαι, οὓς
 ἀκριβῶς ἥδει πάντα ἀφοσιουμένους τὰ τοιαῦτα.
 155 πῶς οὖν ἀπεδέχετο; τὴν πέραν τοῦ
 Τιβέρεως ποταμοῦ μεγάλην τῆς Ῥώμης ἀποτομὴν
 [ἦν] οὐκ ἡγγόει κατεχομένην καὶ οἰκουμένην πρὸς
 Ἰουδαίων.³ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλείους ἀπελευ-
 θερωθέντες· αἰχμάλωτοι γὰρ ἀχθέντες εἰς Ἰταλίαν
 ὑπὸ τῶν κτησαμένων ἡλευθερώθησαν, οὐδὲν τῶν
 156 πατρίων παραχαράξαι βιασθέντες. ἡπίστατο οὖν
 καὶ προσευχὰς ἔχοντας καὶ συνιόντας εἰς αὐτάς,
 καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἐβδόμαις, ὅτε δημοσίᾳ τὴν
 πάτριον παιδεύονται φιλοσοφίαν. ἡπίστατο καὶ
 χρήματα συνάγοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν ἱερὰ καὶ
 πέμποντας εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα διὰ τῶν τὰς θυσίας

¹ Wendland suggested <τιμῆς> ἐστέρησαν. Something is perhaps needed, but why not <τοῦδ'>?

² δεθῆναι is clearly corrupt. Suggestions are οἰδηθῆναι, ἐπαρθῆναι, διαρθῆναι (or perhaps the simple ἀρθῆναι).

³ So Mangey. I am surprised that Reiter should have adopted the mss. text by retaining ἦν, which involves putting the question mark after Ἰουδαίων. There is little or no point

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then did they withhold this from him? I will answer that question without any reserve. They 153 knew his carefulness and that he showed it in maintaining firmly the native customs of each particular nation no less than of the Romans, and that he received his honours not for destroying the institutions of some nations in vain self-exaltation^a but in accordance with the magnitude of so mighty a sovereignty whose prestige was bound to be enhanced by such tributes. That he was never elated or puffed 154 up by the vast honours given to him is clearly shown by the fact that he never wished anyone to address him as a god but was annoyed if anyone used the word, and also by his approval of the Jews, who he knew full well regarded all such things with horror.

How then did he show his approval? 155 He was aware that the great section of Rome on the other side of the Tiber is occupied and inhabited by Jews, most of whom were Roman citizens emancipated. For having been brought as captives to Italy they were liberated by their owners and were not forced to violate any of their native institutions. He knew therefore that they have houses of prayer 156 and meet together in them, particularly on the sacred sabbaths when they receive as a body a training in their ancestral philosophy. He knew too that they collect money for sacred purposes from their first-fruits and send them to Jerusalem by persons who

^a So, I think, rather than as L. & S. revised, citing this passage, "deceiving himself."

in the question "how did he approve of the section beyond the Tiber?" By the very small change involved in expelling ἡν after ἀποτομήν, the course of the argument is clearly shown.

- 157 ἀναξόντων. ἀλλ' ὁμως | οὔτε ἐξώκισε τῆς Ῥώμης
 [569] ἐκείνους οὔτε τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν αὐτῶν ἀφείλετο
 πολιτείαν, ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἐφρόντιζον, οὔτε
 ἐνεωτέρισεν εἰς τὰς προσευχὰς οὔτε ἐκώλυσε
 συνάγεσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῶν νόμων ὑψηγῆσεις οὔτε
 ἡναντιώθη τοῖς ἀπαρχομένοις, ἀλλ' οὕτως ὡσίωτο
 περὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα, ὥστε μόνον οὐ πανοίκιος ἀνα-
 θημάτων πολυτελείαις τὸ ἱερὸν ἡμῶν ἐκόσμησε,
 προστάξας καὶ διαιωνίους ἀνάγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελε-
 χεῖς ὁλοκαύτους καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
 προσόδων ἀπαρχὴν τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ, αἱ καὶ μέχρι
 νῦν ἐπιτελοῦνται καὶ εἰς ἅπαν ἐπιτελεσθήσονται,
- 158 μῆνυμα τρόπων ὄντως αὐτοκρατορικῶν. οὐ μὴν
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς μηνιαίαις τῆς πατρίδος¹ διανομαῖς,
 ἀργύριον ἢ σίτον ἐν μέρει παντὸς τοῦ δήμου
 λαμβάνοντος, οὐδέποτε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἡλάττωσε
 τῆς χάριτος, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ συνέβη τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐβδόμης
 ἐνεστῶσης γενέσθαι τὴν διανομὴν, ὅτε οὔτε λαμ-
 βάνειν οὔτε διδόναι ἢ συνόλως τι πράττειν τῶν
 κατὰ βίον καὶ μάλιστα τὸν ποριστὴν ἐφεῖται,
 προσετέτακτο τοῖς διανέμουσι ταμιεύειν τοῖς Ἰου-
 δαίοις εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν κοινὴν φιλανθρωπίαν.
- 159 XXIV. Τοιγαροῦν οἱ πανταχοῦ πάντες, εἰ καὶ
 φύσει διέκειντο πρὸς Ἰουδαίους οὐκ εὐμενῶς,
 εὐλαβῶς εἶχον ἐπὶ καθαιρέσει τινὸς τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν
 νομίμων προσάφασθαι· καὶ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου μέντοι
 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, καίτοι τῶν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ παρα-
 κινήεντων, ἡνίκα Σηιανὸς ἐσκευῶρει τὴν ἐπίθεσιν.
- 160 ἔγνω γάρ, εὐθέως ἔγνω μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν,

¹ "πατρίδος suspectum," says Reiter, and a correction to *σποριδος* = *sportulae* has been suggested. But cf. the applica-
 tion of *πατρίς* to Jerusalem in § 278. It is an essential part

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would offer the sacrifices. Yet nevertheless he 157
neither ejected them from Rome nor deprived them
of their Roman citizenship because they were careful
to preserve their Jewish citizenship also, nor took any
violent measures against the houses of prayer, nor
prevented them from meeting to receive instructions
in the laws, nor opposed their offerings of the first-
fruits. Indeed so religiously did he respect our
interests that supported by wellnigh his whole house-
hold he adorned our temple through the costliness of
his dedications, and ordered that for all time con-
tinuous sacrifices of whole burnt offerings should be
carried out every day at his own expense as a tribute
to the most high God. And these sacrifices are
maintained to the present day and will be maintained
for ever to tell the story of a character truly imperial.
Yet more, in the monthly doles in his own city when 158
all the people each in turn receive money or corn, he
never put the Jews at a disadvantage in sharing the
bounty, but even if the distributions happened to
come during the sabbath when no one is permitted
to receive or give anything or to transact any part of
the business of ordinary life, particularly of a lucra-
tive kind, he ordered the dispensers to reserve for
the Jews till the morrow the charity which fell to all.

XXIV. Therefore everyone everywhere, even if he 159
was not naturally well disposed to the Jews, was
afraid to engage in destroying any of our institutions,
and indeed it was the same under Tiberius though
matters in Italy became troublesome when Sejanus
was organizing his onslaughts. For Tiberius knew the 160
truth, he knew at once after Sejanus's death that

of the argument that Augustus's favour was shown to the
Jews in his own city.

- ὅτι τὰ κατηγορηθέντα τῶν ὠκηκότων τὴν Ῥώμην
 Ἰουδαίων ψευδεῖς ἦσαν διαβολαί, πλάσματα Σηια-
 νοῦ τὸ ἔθνος ἀναρπάσαι θέλοντος, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον
 ἢ μάλιστα ἥδει βουλαῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ πράξειςιν
 ἀντιβησόμενον ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρασπονδηθῆναι κινδύ-
 161 νεύσαντος αὐτοκράτορος. καὶ τοῖς πανταχόσε
 χειροτονουμένοις ὑπάρχοις ἐπέσκηψε παρηγορῆσαι
 μὲν τοὺς κατὰ πόλεις τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους, ὡς οὐκ
 εἰς πάντας προβάσσης τῆς ἐπεξελεύσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ
 μόνους τοὺς αἰτίους—ὀλίγοι δὲ ἦσαν—, κινήσαι δὲ
 μηδὲν τῶν ἐξ ἔθους, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρακαταθήκην
 ἔχειν τοὺς τε ἄνδρας ὡς εἰρηνικοὺς τὰς φύσεις καὶ
 τὰ νόμιμα ὡς ἀλείφοντα πρὸς εὐστάθειαν.
- 162 XXV. Ὁ δὲ Γάιος ἑαυτὸν ἐξετύφωσεν, οὐ
 λέγων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ οἰόμενος εἶναι θεός. εἴτα
 οὐδένας εὔρεν οὔτε Ἑλλήνων οὔτε βαρβάρων ἐπι-
 τηδειοτέρους Ἀλεξανδρέων εἰς τὴν τῆς ἀμέτρου
 καὶ ὑπὲρ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἐπιθυμίας βεβαίωσιν.
 δεινοὶ γάρ εἰσι τὰς κολακείας καὶ γοητείας καὶ
 ὑποκρίσεις, παρεσκευασμένοι μὲν θώπας λόγους,
 [570] ἀνειμένους | δὲ στόμασι καὶ ἀχαλίνους πάντα φύ-
 163 ροντες. θεοῦ κλήσις οὕτως ἐστὶ σεμνὸν παρ'
 αὐτοῖς, ὥστε καὶ ἴβеси καὶ ἰοβόλοις ἀσπίσι ταῖς
 ἐγχωρίοις καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις τῶν ἐξηγριωμέ-
 νων θηρίων αὐτῆς¹ μεταδεδώκασιν· ὥστε εἰκότως
 ἀταμιεύτοις χρώμενοι ταῖς εἰς θεὸν τεινούσαις
 προσηγορίαις ἀπατῶσι μὲν τοὺς ὀλιγόφρονας καὶ
 ἀπείρους τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἀθεότητος, ἀλίσκονται
 δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπισταμένων τὴν πολλὴν αὐτῶν ἡλι-
 164 θιότητα, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀσέβειαν. ἥς ἀπειρος ὢν

¹ Reiter's text has αὐτῆς θηρίων, but he notes "transponenda vidit Mang.," as indeed seems necessary.

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the accusations made against the Jewish inhabitants of Rome were false slanders, invented by him because he wished to make away with the nation, knowing that it would take the sole or the principal part in opposing his unholy plots and actions, and would defend the emperor when in danger of becoming the victim of treachery. And he charged 161 his procurators in every place to which they were appointed to speak comfortably to the members of our nation in the different cities, assuring them that the penal measures did not extend to all but only to the guilty, who were few, and to disturb none of the established customs but even to regard them as a trust committed to their care, the people as naturally peaceable, and the institutions as an influence promoting orderly conduct.

XXV. But Gaius grew beside himself with vanity, 162 not only saying but thinking that he was God. He then found among the Greeks or the outside world no people fitted better than the Alexandrians to confirm the unmeasured passion which craves for more than is natural to mankind. For the Alexandrians are adepts at flattery and imposture and hypocrisy, ready enough with fawning words but causing universal disaster with their loose and unbridled lips. How much reverence is paid by them to the title of 163 God is shown by their having allowed it to be shared by the indigenous ibises and venomous snakes and many other ferocious wild beasts. It naturally followed that by this unrestricted use of names appertaining to God, while they deceived the little-wits who do not see through Egyptian godlessness, they stand condemned by those who understand their great folly or rather impiety. Failing to 164



- Γάιος ὑπελάμβανε τῷ ὄντι νομίζεσθαι παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι θεός, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ πλαγίως ἀλλ' ἀντικρυς ἅπασιν ἐχρῶντο κατακόρως τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, 165 ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔθος ἐπιφημίζεσθαι θεοῖς. εἶτα καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς προσευχὰς νεωτεροποιίαν ἀπὸ καθαροῦ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἀκραίφνους τιμῆς ὥετο γεγενῆσθαι, τῇ μὲν ταῖς ὑπομνηματικαῖς ἐφημερίσιν, ἃς ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας διεπέμποντο τινες, προσέχων—ἡδιστον γὰρ ἦν ἀνάγνωσμα τοῦτο αὐτῷ, ὥς καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων συγγραφέων καὶ ποιητῶν ἀηδέστατα συγκρίσει τῆς ἐν τούτοις χάριτος νομίζεσθαι—, τῇ δὲ καὶ δι' ἐνίους οἰκέτας τοὺς τωθάζοντας αἰεὶ καὶ χλευάζοντας σὺν αὐτῷ.
- 166 XXVI. Τούτων ἦσαν οἱ πλείους Αἰγύπτιοι, πονηρὰ σπέρματα, κροκοδείλων καὶ ἀσπίδων τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀναμεμαγμένοι τὸν ἰὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ θυμὸν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς. ἡγεμὼν δὲ οἶά τις ἦν χοροῦ τοῦ Αἰγυπτιακοῦ θιάσου παντὸς Ἑλικῶν, ἐπάρατον καὶ ἐξάγιστον ἀνδράποδον παρεισφθαρὲν εἰς τὴν αὐτοκρατορικὴν οἰκίαν· ἀπεγεύσατο γὰρ τῶν ἐγκυκλίων κατὰ φιλοτιμίαν τοῦ προτέρου δεσπότης, 167 ὃς αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι. τότε μὲν οὖν οὐδεμιᾶς ἐτύγχανε προνομίας, ὅσα μειρακιώδη χαριεντίσματα Τιβερίου διαμεμισθηκότος, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ σεμνότερόν τε καὶ αὐστηρότερον σχεδὸν 168 ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἐπικλινῶς εἶχεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ μὲν ἐτελεύτησε, Γάιος δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διεδέξατο,

^a Or "in the regular curriculum of the schools."

^b Or simply "zeal" as in § 60. In any case the meaning seems to be that his master wished to give an acceptable

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understand this Gaius supposed that he was really regarded by the Alexandrians as a god, since they incessantly used plainly and without any indirection terms which other people commonly employ when speaking of God. Then again he thought that the violent proceedings against the meeting-houses had sprung from a clear conscience and from a sincere desire to do him honour. This impression was due partly to the attention he paid to the periodical notifications which were sent at the instance of some persons in Alexandria and made very pleasing reading for him, so much so that in comparison with their charm the works of others either in prose or poetry seemed to him very distasteful. Partly also it was caused by some of his domestics who joined him in perpetual scoffing and mockery. 165

XXVI. The majority of these were Egyptians, a seed bed of evil in whose souls both the venom and the temper of the native crocodiles and asps were reproduced. The one who played the part of chorus-leader to the whole Egyptian troupe was Helicon, an abominable execrable slave, who had been foisted for ill into the imperial household. For he had received a smattering of a liberal education^a through the ambition^b of his former master, who made a present of him to Tiberius Caesar. In his time indeed he got no high position as Tiberius thoroughly hated all juvenile pleasantries, since from his earliest years he was inclined to solemnity and austerity. But when he died and Gaius succeeded to his sovereignty, 167 168

present to Tiberius and therefore had his slave educated for this purpose. Yonge's translation, "in emulation of his master," would, I think, need *πρός* with acc. rather than the simple genitive.

νέῳ δεσπότῃ παρεπόμενος εἰς ἀνέσεις καὶ τρυφὴν
 τὴν διὰ πάσης αἰσθήσεως ἐπιχαλῶντι, “σός,”
 εἶπε, “νῦν ὁ καιρὸς ἐστίν, Ἑλικῶν, ἐπέγειρε
 σαυτόν· ἔχεις πρὸς ἐπίδειξιν ἀκροατὴν καὶ θεατὴν
 τὸν πάντων ἄριστον· εὐθικτος¹ εἰ τὴν φήσιν· σκώ-
 πτειν καὶ χαριεντίζεσθαι δύνασαι μᾶλλον ἐτέρων·
 ἀθύρματα καὶ παιδιὰς ληρώδεις καὶ παρασεσyr-
 μένας οἶδας· τῶν ἐγκυκλίων οὐχ ἦττον πεπαίδευσαι
 τὰ ἀχόρευτα· πρόσσετί σοι καὶ τὸ στωμύλον οὐκ
 169 ἀτερπές· ἐὰν ἔτι κέντρον ἐγκαταμίξης τοῖς τωθα-
 σμοῖς ὑποκακόηθες, ὡς μὴ γέλωτα κινεῖν μόνον
 ἀλλὰ καὶ πικρίαν ἐκ τοῦ καχυπόνου, τὸν δεσπότην
 [571] ὅλον ἥρπακας | εὐφυνῶς διακείμενον πρὸς ἀκρόασιν
 τῶν μετὰ χλεύης ἐγκλημάτων· ἀναπέπταται γὰρ
 αὐτοῦ, ὡς οἶδας, τὰ ὦτα καὶ ἀνωρθίασται πρὸς
 τοὺς ἐπιτετηδευκότας συνυφαίνειν τὸ βλασφημεῖν
 170 τῷ συκοφαντεῖν. ὕλας δὲ μὴ ζήτει περιττοτέρας·
 ἔχεις τὰς κατὰ Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν
 ἐθνῶν διαβολάς,² αἷς ἐνετράφης· ἐξ ἔτι σπαργάνων
 ἀνεδιδάχτης αὐτάς, οὐ παρ’ ἐνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀλλὰ τοῦ
 γλωσσαργοτάτου μέρους τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων πόλεως.
 171 ἐπίδειξαι τὰ μαθήματα.” XXVII. τού-
 τοις τοῖς παραλόγοις καὶ ἐπαράτοις λογισμοῖς
 ἐπάρας καὶ συγκροτήσας ἑαυτὸν συνέιχε καὶ
 περιεῖπε τὸν Γάιον, οὐ νύκτωρ, οὐ μεθ’ ἡμέραν

¹ MSS. εὐθικτος.

² MSS. καταβολάς. Perhaps, as Mangey suggested as an alternative, καταβοάς.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 168-171

Helicon, attaching himself to his new master who was relaxing into dissipation and voluptuous enjoyment of every sense, said to himself, "Now is your hour, Helicon! rouse yourself; you have an unrivalled auditor and spectator of your exhibitions; you are naturally quick of apprehension, you can scoff and jest more than other people, you now how to amuse and to play the fool with drolleries and quips and cranks. Your education has been quite as much in subjects unrecognized in the schools^a as in those of the regular course; also your gift of the gab is not without its charm. If you also mix with your jest- 169 ings the sting of a touch of malice so that you stir not only laughter but bitterness born of suspicion, you have your master a complete captive. For he is happily disposed by nature to listen to accusations mixed with derision. His ears as you know are wide open and pricked up to listen to those who have studied to combine abuse with sycophancy. And do 170 not seek for needless abundance of material. You have the obloquy cast upon the Jews and their customs; in this you were reared; right from the cradle you were taught it not by one person only but by the noisiest element in the city of the Alexandrians. Display your learning." XXVII. Having 171 stimulated and worked himself up with these perverse and execrable reflections he got a hold of Gaius and paid much court to him. Neither by day nor by night

^a Or perhaps more strongly "base and vicious." Philo may be thinking of Plato, *Laws* 654 A, where ὁ ἀχόρευτος is said to be ἀπαιδευτος, and the πεπαιδευμένος is the ἱκανῶς κεχορευκίως, which is afterwards defined as including not merely dancing and singing well, but showing in them a love for τὰ καλά, and hatred for τὰ αἰσχροά. If this is right, πεπαιδευσαι τὰ ἀχόρευτα is an intentional oxymoron.

- ἀφιστάμενος, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ συμπαρών, ἵνα ταῖς ἐρημίαις καὶ ἀναπαύλαις αὐτοῦ καταχρῆται πρὸς τὰς κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους αἰτίας, ἡδονὰς κινῶν τὰς διὰ σκωμμάτων ὁ πανουργότατος, ἵνα τιτρώσκωσιν αἱ διαβολαί· τὸν γὰρ ἐπ' εὐθείας κατήγορον οὔτε ὠμολόγει οὔτε ὁμολογεῖν ἐδύνατο, πλαγιάζων δὲ καὶ τεχνιτεύων χαλεπώτερος καὶ βαρύτερος ἦν ἐχθρὸς τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων¹ ἄντικρυς τὴν δυσ-
- 172 μένειαν. φασὶ δὲ ὅτι καὶ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων οἱ πρέσβεις εὖ τοῦτο εἰδότες ἀφανῶς ἐμεμίσθωντο αὐτὸν μεγάλοις μισθοῖς, οὐ διὰ χρημάτων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τιμαῖς ἐλπίδων, ἃς ὑπέσπειραν αὐτῷ παρέξειν οὐκ εἰς μακράν, ἐπειδὰν ἀφίκηται
- 173 Γάιος εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν. ὁ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνιον ὀνειροπολῶν, ἐν ᾧ παρόντος τοῦ δεσπότη καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ σχεδόν τι τῆς οἰκουμένης—οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἄδηλον, ὅτι κατὰ θεραπείαν Γαίῳ συνεισβαλεῖ τὸ δοκιμώτατον καὶ ὅσον τῶν πόλεων ὅψις ἐστὶν ἀναστὰν ἀπὸ περάτων αὐτῶν—ὑπὸ τῆς μεγίστης καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτης πόλεως τιμηθήσεται, πάντα ὑπ-
- 174 ισχνεῖτο. μέχρι μὲν οὖν τινος τὸν ἐμφω-
 λεύοντα ἔνδον πολέμιον ἀγνοοῦντες ἐφυλαττόμεθα τοὺς ἕξω μόνους· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡσθόμεθα, διηρευνῶμεν περιβλεπόμενοι πάσας ὁδοὺς, εἴ πως δυνησόμεθα μαλθάξαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐξ ἅπαντος τρόπου καὶ τόπου βάλλοντα καὶ τοξεύοντα ἡμᾶς

¹ mss. ἀπογεγραμμένων ("registered themselves"), a word which seems not inappropriate here, where stress is laid on the open profession. I doubt whether change is necessary, though ἐπιγ. is very common in Philo.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 171-175

did he leave him but was everywhere in his company, so that he might make full use of his hours of solitude and leisure to press the charges against our nation. An utter villain, he worked upon the pleasure which malicious jesting gives to add a sting to slanders. For he neither owned that he was bringing a direct accusation nor could he have done so, but by his indirect and crafty methods he was a more difficult and formidable enemy than those who straightforwardly ranged themselves among their enemies. It is said also that the envoys of the 172 Alexandrians knew this well and had secretly bribed him with big fees not only in money but also with hopes of honours which they covertly suggested they would procure for him soon when Gaius should come to Alexandria. Elated with visions of that occasion 173 when in the presence of his master and of almost the whole habitable world, since undoubtedly all the men of light and leading^a in the cities would journey from the furthestmost parts to join in homage to Gaius, he would be honoured by the greatest and most illustrious city of them all, he promised everything.

For some time, knowing nothing of the 174 foe who was lurking within, we took precautions against foes outside only, but when we perceived the truth we began to search about and scan every path in the hope that we might be able to appease and soften the heart of a man who in every way and from every place was aiming his javelins and arrows at us so effectively. For he played ball with 175

^a The "eye of the city" is those through whom it sees what it needs, *cf.* the phrase *ὀφθαλμὸς βασιλείας*. Or perhaps simply "the choicest part" (so also *ὀφθαλμός*); *cf.* *ὡς ὁψιν ἐν σώματι Spec. Leg.* iv. 157.

PHILO

- 175 εὐσκόπως. καὶ συνεσφαίριζε γὰρ καὶ συνεγυμνά-
 ζετο καὶ συνελούετο καὶ συνηρίστα καὶ μέλλοντι
 κοιμᾶσθαι παρὴν Γαῖω, τὴν τοῦ κατακοιμιστοῦ
 καὶ κατ' οἰκίαν ἀρχισωματοφύλακος τεταγμένος
 τάξιν, ὅση μηδενὶ προσῆν ἄλλω, ὥς μόνος ἔχειν
 εὐκαιρούσας καὶ σχολαζούσας ἀκοὰς αὐτοκράτορος
 τῶν ἔξω διαφειμένας θορύβων εἰς ἀκρόασιν ὦν
- 176 μάλιστα ἐπόθει. διασυρμοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀνακεκραμένοι
 κατηγορίαις, ἵνα τοῖς μὲν ἡδονὰς κινή, ἡμᾶς δὲ
 τὰ μέγιστα βλάβη· τὸ μὲν γὰρ προηγούμενον
 ἔργον εἶναι δοκοῦν, ὁ διασυρμός, πάρεργον ἦν
 αὐτῷ, τὸ δὲ φαινόμενον πάρεργον, αἱ κατηγορίαι,
- 177 μόνον καὶ πρῶτον ἔργον. πάντα δὲ κάλων ἀνα-
 σείων, ὥς οἱ πνεῦμα δεξιὸν κατ' οἰάκων ἔχοντες,
- [572] ἐφέρετο πλησίστιος οὐριοδρομῶν, ἄλλας | ἐπ' ἄλ-
 λαις συντιθεῖς καὶ συνεύρων αἰτίας. τοῦ δὲ ἐνετυ-
 ποῦτο ἡ διάνοια παγιώτερον, ὥς ἄληστον εἶναι τὴν
 τῶν ἐγκλημάτων μνήμην.
- 178 XXVIII. Ἐν ἀπόροις δὲ καὶ ἐν ἀμηχάνοις
 ὄντες, ἐπειδὴ πάντα λίθον κινοῦντες ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸν
 Ἑλικῶνα ἐξευμενίσασθαι πάροδον οὐδεμίαν ἀνευ-
 ρίσκομεν, μηδενὸς μήτε εἰπεῖν μήτε προσελθεῖν
 τολμῶντος ἕνεκα τῆς ἀλαζονείας καὶ βαρύτητος,
 ἥ πρὸς πάντας ἐκέχρητο, καὶ ἅμα διὰ τὸ ἀγνοεῖν,
 εἴ τις ἐστὶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος ἀλλοτρι-
 ωσις ἀλείφοντι τὸν δεσπότην αἰεὶ καὶ συγκροτοῦντι
 κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους, τὸ μὲν ἔτι πονεῖσθαι περὶ τοῦτο
 τὸ μέρος εἰάσαμεν, τοῦ δὲ ἀναγκαιοτέρου περιειχό-
 μεθα· γραμματεῖον γὰρ ἔδοξεν ἀναδοῦναι Γαῖω
 κεφαλαιώδη τύπον περιέχον ὦν τε ἐπάθομεν καὶ
- 179 ὦν τυχεῖν ἡξιούμεν. ἦν δὲ σχεδὸν τοῦτο ἐπιτομή
 τις ἱκετείας μακροτέρας, ἣν ἐπεπόμφεμεν πρὸ

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 175-179

Gaius, practised gymnastics with him, bathed with him, dined with him and was with him when he was going to bed, as he held the post of chamberlain and Captain of the Guard in the house, a post greater than any that was given to anyone else, so that he alone had convenient and leisurely audiences of the emperor, where he could listen released from outside disturbances to what was most to his heart. Satire 176 was blended with accusations so that while he gave rise to pleasure he did us a maximum of harm, for what seemed the leading feature, the satire, was with him secondary and what appeared secondary, the accusations, were his sole and primary task. So 177 letting out every reef like sailors with a fair wind at the stern, he was carried along at full sail racing before the breeze, while he assembled a string of indictments one after the other. And the impression made on Gaius's mind grew firmer so that his memory of the charges was ineffaceable.

XXVIII. In these straits and difficulties, since 178 while leaving no stone unturned to propitiate Helicon we found no way open, as no one dared to address or approach him because of the arrogance and harshness he showed to all, and also we did not know whether in always inciting and working up his master against the nation he was influenced by a personal dislike of the Jewish race, we ceased to exert ourselves in this direction and confined our efforts to the more pressing side. We determined to give Gaius a document presenting in a summarized form the story of our sufferings and our claims. This document was practically 179 an epitome of a longer supplication which we had sent to him a short time before through the hands

ὀλίγου δι' Ἀγρίππα τοῦ βασιλέως· ἐκ τύχης γὰρ
 ἐπεδήμησε τῇ πόλει μέλλων εἰς Συρίαν κατὰ τὴν
 180 δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ βασιλείαν ἀπαίρειν.¹ * * * ἐλελή-
 θειμεν δὲ ἄρα ἔτι ἀπατῶντες ἑαυτούς· καὶ γὰρ
 πρότερον, ὅτε εὐθὺς ἠρξάμεθα πλεῖν οἰόμενοι πρὸς
 κριτὴν ἀφίξεσθαι τευξόμενοι τῶν δικαίων.
 ὁ δὲ ἦν ἐχθρὸς ἄσπονδος, δελεάζων ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν
 φαιδρῷ τῷ βλέμματι καὶ ἱλαρωτέραις ταῖς προσ-
 181 ρήσεσι. δεξιωσάμενος γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐν τῷ πρὸς
 Τιβέρι πεδίῳ τὸ πρῶτον—ἔτυχε δὲ ἐκ τῶν μη-
 τρώων ἐξιὼν κήπων—ἀντιπροσηγόρευσε καὶ τὴν
 δεξιὰν χεῖρα κατέσεισεν αἰνιττόμενος εὐμένειαν καὶ
 τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πρεσβειῶν, "Ὀμίλον ὄνομα, προσ-
 πέμψας, " αὐτός," ἔφη, " τῆς ὑμετέρας ὑποθέσεως
 ἀκούσομαι προσευκαιρήσας," ὥστε τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ
 πάντας συνήδεσθαι καθάπερ ἤδη νενικηκόσι καὶ
 τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅσοι ταῖς ἐπιπολαίοις παράγονται

¹ Reiter here places what he calls (*Prolegomena*, p. 60) a
 "lacuna maior." On this see note δ.

^a This document of course was quite different from the complimentary address mentioned in *Flaccus* 103 as sent in duplicate through Agrippa. The statement made here seems to me to raise considerable difficulty. The natural meaning is that it was handed to Agrippa at his visit to Alexandria in the spring of 38. That the Jews might have given him a petition setting forth their rights, i.e. their claims to citizenship, is possible enough, and as circumstances had not changed this, this petition might have been adequate later. But it also is said to have set forth their sufferings, i.e. the persecutions and the desecration of the synagogues, and these could not have been described in a document handed to Agrippa during this visit, for it is impossible to suppose that he remained at Alexandria through the pogrom which culminated at the end of August. The only intelligible

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 179-181

of King Agrippa.^a For he had chanced to pay a visit to the city when he was about to sail to Syria to take up the kingdom which had been given to him. . . .^b But we proved to have been unwittingly 180
deceiving ourselves, not for the first time. For it was the same earlier, when we first started on our voyage thinking that we should meet a judge and get our rights.

Actually he was our mortal foe, beguiling us with the seeming geniality with which he eyed us and the increased cheeriness of his address. After first greeting us in the 181
plain by the Tiber, as he issued from the gardens left him by his mother, he repeated his salutation and waved his right hand signifying goodwill and sent the official who managed the admission of ambassadors named Homilus with the message: "I will hear your statement of the case myself when I get a good opportunity." Consequently everyone around us rejoiced with us as though we had already won the case, and those of our party who were mis-

meaning I can give to the statement is that the visit of Agrippa had created an intimacy which made him a natural channel in the subsequent matters for approaching Gaius. Unless indeed some words are lost. See next note.

For Agrippa's life and personality see vol. ix. p. 532.

^b Reiter gives no reason for supplying a lacuna here beyond the words "lacunam statuit Cohn." But Cohn's article in *Philologus* says nothing bearing on it, though he observes that as the ambassadors are suddenly introduced in ch. xxvii., some account of the reasons for the embassy may have been originally given there. I expect that his idea of a lacuna at this point in ch. xxviii. is a later modification. I see no reasons for supposing lacunas on any such grounds. See *Intro.* pp. xxii. But it is true that a few words to the effect that Agrippa's visit had led to intimacy with him might have cleared up the difficulty mentioned in the preceding note.

- 182 φαντασίαις. ἐγὼ δὲ φρονεῖν τι δοκῶν περιττότερον καὶ δι' ἡλικίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην παιδείαν εὐλαβέστερος ἤμην ἐφ' οἷς ἔχαιρον οἱ ἄλλοι. “διὰ τί γάρ,” ἔφασκον ἀνακινῶν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λογισμόν, “τοσούτων ὄντων πρεσβευτῶν σχεδὸν ἀπὸ πάσης γῆς ἀφιγμένων, ἡμῶν εἶπε τότε μόνων ἀκούσεσθαι; τί βουλόμενος; οὐ γὰρ ἡγνόει γε ὄντας Ἰουδαίους,
- 183 οἷς ἀγαπητὸν τὸ μὴ ἐλαττοῦσθαι. τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ προνομίας οἶεσθαι τυγχάνειν παρ' ἄλλοεθνεί καὶ νέῳ καὶ αὐτεξουσίῳ δεσπότῃ μὴ καὶ μανίας ἐγγὺς ἐστίν; ἀλλ' ἔοικε τῇ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀλεξανδρέων |
- [573] μερίδι προσκείσθαι, ἥ διδοὺς προνομίαν θάττον ὑπέσχετο δικάσειν, ἐὰν ἄρα μὴ τὸν ἴσον καὶ κοινὸν ἀκροατὴν ὑπερβᾷς ἀντὶ δικαστοῦ γένηται τῶν μὲν συναγωνιστής, ἡμῶν δὲ ἀντίπαλος.”
- 184 XXIX. Ταῦτα λογιζόμενος ἐσφάδαζον καὶ οὔτε μεθ' ἡμέραν οὔτε νύκτωρ ἡρέμουν. ἀθυμοῦντος δέ μου καὶ τὴν ἀνίαν στέγοντος¹—οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνενεγκεῖν ἀσφαλὲς ἦν—, ἕτερον κατασκήπτει βαρύτατον ἐξαπινάϊως ἀπροσδόκητον κακόν, οὐχ ἐνὶ μέρει τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ τὸν κίνδυνον ἐπάγον, ἀλλὰ συλλήβδην
- 185 ἅπαντι τῷ ἔθνει. ἀφίγμεθα μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης κόλπον, ἀμείβων τὰς ἰδίας ἐπαύλεις πολλὰς καὶ εἰς Δικαιάρχειαν ἐπακολουθοῦντες Γαῖῳ· κατεληλύθει δὲ ἐπὶ θάλατταν καὶ διέτριβε περὶ τὸν
- 186 πολυτελῶς ἡσκημένας. φροντίζουσι δὲ ἡμῖν τῆς ὑποθέσεως—ἀεὶ γὰρ κληθήσεσθαι προσεδοκῶμεν—προσέρχεται τις ὑφαιμόν τι καὶ ταραχῶδες ὑπο-

¹ MSS. ἀνοιαν (or ἀγνοίαν) στένοντος.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 181-186

led by short-sighted fancies felt the same. But as 182
I believe myself in virtue of my age and my good
education otherwise to possess a greater amount of
good sense, what gave joy to the others rather
alarmed me. Bestirring my thinking powers I said,
“Why when so many envoys were present from
almost the whole earth did he say that he would
hear us only? What was his object? For he must
have known that we were Jews who would be con-
tented if they were not treated worse than others.
To suppose that we shall take precedence with a 183
despot of an alien race, a young man possessing
absolute power, surely borders on madness; it looks
as if he is attaching himself to the party of the
other Alexandrians and it was to them that he gave
precedence and promised to give judgement quickly,
if indeed he has not discarded the idea of giving a
fair and impartial hearing and instead of a judge
become their advocate and our opponent.”

XXIX. Thus thinking I was deeply disturbed and 184
had no rest by day or night. But while in my
despondency I kept my affliction concealed since it
was not safe to let it appear, another very heavy
calamity was suddenly and unexpectedly launched
upon us, which endangered not one part only of the
Jewish race but the whole body of the nation. We 185
had travelled from Rome to Puteoli following Gaius,
who had come down to the sea side and was spending
some time round the bay passing from one to another
of the numerous and expensively furnished country
houses which he owned. While we were anxiously 186
considering the statement of our case, since we were
always expecting to be summoned, there came to
us one with a troubled look in his bloodshot eyes and

- βλεπόμενος, ἄσθματος μεστός, καὶ μικρὸν ἀπὸ
 τῶν ἄλλων ἀπαγαγών—πλησίον γὰρ ἦσαν τινες—
 “ἡκούσατε,” ἔφη, “τὰ καινά;” καὶ μέλλων
 ἀπαγγέλλειν ἐπεσχέθη, δακρύων ἀθρόας φορᾶς
 187 ἐνεχθείσης. καὶ πάλιν ἀρξάμενος δεύτερον ἐπ-
 εσχέθη καὶ τρίτον. ἅπερ ὁρῶντες ἡμεῖς ἐπτοήμεθα
 καὶ παρεκαλοῦμεν μηνῦσαι τὸ πρᾶγμα, οὐ χάριν
 ἐλθεῖν ἔφασκεν. “οὐ γὰρ ἔνεκα τοῦ διὰ μαρτύρων
 κλαίειν· εἰ δὲ ἄξια δακρύων ἐστί, μὴ μόνος ἀπόλαυε
 τῆς λύπης· ἐθάδες γεγόναμεν ἤδη κακοπραγιῶν.”
 188 ὁ δὲ μόλις μὲν ἀναλύζων δὲ ὅμως κεκομμένῳ τῷ
 πνεύματί φησιν. “οἴχεται ἡμῶν τὸ ἱερόν· ἀνδριάντα
 κολοσσιαῖον ἐσωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδύτων ἀνατεθῆναι
 189 Γάιος προσέταξε Διὸς ἐπὶ κλησιν αὐτοῦ.” θαν-
 μασάντων δὲ τὸ λεχθὲν καὶ πεπηγότων ὑπ’ ἐκ-
 πλήξεως καὶ μηδὲ προελθεῖν¹ ἔτι δυναμένων—
 ἄχανεῖς γὰρ εἰσθήκειμεν ὀλιγοδρανοῦντες καὶ
 καταρρέοντες περὶ αὐτοῖς, τῶν σωματικῶν τόνων
 ἐκνευρισμένων—, ἕτεροι παρήσαν τὰς αὐτὰς
 190 φέροντες ὠδῖνας. ἔπειτα συγκλεισάμενοι πάντες
 ἄθροοι ἰδίας ὁμοῦ καὶ κοινὰς τύχας ἐθρηνοῦμεν καὶ
 οἷα ὑπέβαλλεν ὁ νοῦς διεξῆμεν—λαλίστατον γὰρ
 ἄνθρωπος ἀτυχῶν—· ἀγωνιάσωμεν² ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ
 εἰς ἅπαν ταῖς ἀνιάτοις³ παρανομίαις ἀφεθῆναι.

¹ MSS. προσελθεῖν.

² For another punctuation see note a.

³ MSS. ἐν αὐτοῖς: see note a. If the punctuation there suggested is accepted, Mangey’s conjecture of ἐν ἀστοῖς is possible. I would also ask for consideration for ἐνιαυσίους, i.e. outrages which have now lasted a year.

^a If this punctuation is right the meaning is “don’t let us be led into making illegal resistance, or perhaps into action

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 186-190

gasping convulsively. He drew us a little way apart since there were some people standing near and said, "Have you heard the new tidings?" and when he was going to report it he was brought up short, as a flood of tears streamed from his eyes. He began 187 again and the second time stopped short and so too a third time. When we saw this we were all in a flutter and bade him tell us the matter which he said had brought him there. "For," we said, "you have not come just to have your weeping witnessed. If the facts are worth tears do not be the only one to feel sorrow. We have become inured to misfortunes by now." He managed with difficulty while sobbing 188 and breathing spasmodically to say, "Our temple is lost, Gaius has ordered a colossal statue to be set up within the inner sanctuary dedicated to himself under the name of Zeus." As we marvelled at his 189 words and, petrified by consternation, could not get any further, since we stood there speechless and powerless in a state of collapse with our hearts turned to water, others appeared bringing the same woeful tale. Then gathered altogether in seclusion 190 we bewailed the disaster personal to each and common to all and such thoughts as the mind suggested we discussed at length. For nothing is more ready of tongue than a man in misfortune. "Let us struggle," we said, "to save us from delivering ourselves altogether to fatal acts of lawlessness.^a We sailed in

which will bring upon us lawless outrages." But I should prefer to put the stop after *ἀγωνιάσωμεν* instead of after *ἀφελθῆναι*. The sense will be "let us face the crisis. It was to save ourselves from being the victims of outrages that we sailed," etc. In this case the *παπανομίαι* are the outrages we expected to happen in Alexandria. So substantially Mangey, though he reads *ἀγωνιζόμενοι*.

χειμῶνος μέσου διεπλεύσαμεν ἀγνοοῦντες, ὅσος
 χειμῶν ἔφεδρός ἐστιν ὁ κατὰ γῆν ἀργαλεώτερος
 πολλῶ τοῦ κατὰ θάλατταν· τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ἡ φύσις
 αἰτία διακρίνουσα τοὺς ἐτησίους καιροὺς, φύσις
 δὲ σωτήριον· ἐκείνου δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐδὲν φρονῶν
 ἀνθρώπινον, νέος καὶ νεωτεροποιὸς ἀνημμένος τὴν
 [574] ἐφ' ἅπασιν | ἀνυπεύθυνον ἀρχήν· νεότης δὲ μετ' ἐξ-
 ουσίας αὐτοκρατοῦς ὁρμαῖς ἀκαθέκτοις χρωμένη
 191 κακὸν δύσμαχον. ἐξέσται δὲ προσελθεῖν ἢ διαῖραι
 τὸ στόμα περὶ προσευχῶν τῷ λυμεῶνι τοῦ πανιέ-
 ρου; δῆλον γὰρ ὡς οὐ φροντιεῖ τῶν ἀφανεστέρων
 καὶ τιμῆς ἐλάττονος ἡξιωμένων ὁ τὸν περιση-
 μότατον καὶ ἐπιφανέστατον νεών, εἰς ὃν ἀνατολαὶ
 καὶ δύσεις ἀποβλέπουσιν ἡλίου τρόπον πανταχόσε
 192 λάμποντα, καθυβρίζων. εἰ δὲ καὶ γένοιτό τις ἄδεια
 προσόδου, τί χρή προσδοκᾶν ἢ θάνατον ἀπαραίτη-
 τον; ἀλλ' ἔστω, τεθνηξόμεθα· ζωὴ γάρ τίς ἐστιν
 ὁ ὑπὲρ φυλακῆς νόμων εὐκλέεστατος θάνατος. εἰ
 δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας τελευτῆς γενήσεται μηδὲν
 ὄφελος, οὐ μανία παραπολέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα πρεσ-
 βεύειν δοκοῦντας, ὡς τῶν πεμφάντων μᾶλλον ἢ

^a The six sections which follow become intelligible if we recognize that *ιδίου* in § 193 refers to the particular interests of the Alexandrian Jews, especially their claims to citizenship, as opposed to the interests of the nation as a whole, and not to the personal safety of the ambassadors. Philo and his colleagues had three courses of action before them. First they might proceed with their suit, perhaps by sending the document mentioned in § 178 if that had not been sent already. This was impracticable as far as the synagogue question was concerned and might probably cost them their lives (§ 191). Such a death was, indeed, honourable but under the circumstances a mere waste (§ 192). As to the other question, the

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 190-192

midst of the stormy winter, not knowing how great a storm was awaiting us, a land storm far more dangerous than that of the sea. For that is the work of nature who divides the annual seasons, and nature is a preserver. But the other is the work of a man whose thoughts are not those of a man, a youth with the recklessness of youth, invested with irresponsible dominion over all. And youth coupled with absolute authority is subject to unrestrainable impulses, a formidable power for evil. "Shall we be allowed to 191 come near him and open our mouths in defence of the houses of prayer to the destroyer of the all-holy place? for clearly to houses less conspicuous and held in lower esteem no regard would be paid by one who insults that most notable and illustrious shrine whose beams like the sun's reach every whither, beheld with awe both by east and west. And even if we were allowed to approach him un- 192 molested, what have we to expect but death against which there is no appeal? Well so be it, we will die and be no more, for the truly glorious death, met in defence of laws, might be called life. But if our decease brings no advantage, is it not madness to let ourselves perish as well, particularly as we are supposed to act as ambassadors, so that the disaster citizenship, to press it when the national existence was in danger would be felt to be a selfish particularism (§§ 193, 194). The second alternative was to throw up the whole thing and go home. This is rejected as unworthy (§ 195). The third was to wait on quietly in Italy trusting in God and hoping that the crisis would pass (§ 196). This is probably what actually happened thanks to Agrippa's intercession, after which the envoys were admitted and even if unsuccessful, at any rate, left unharmed. I see no reason to agree with Balsdon, page 136, that this "laboured defence shows that they were criticised for neglecting to make any gesture at this point."

- 193 τῶν ὑπομενόντων εἶναι τὴν συμφορὰν; οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅσοι τὰς φύσεις μισοπονηρότατοι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀσέβειαν ἡμῶν κατηγορήσουσιν ὥς, ἐν ἐσχάτῳ κινδύνῳ τῶν ὅλων σαλευόντων, ἐπιμνησθέντων ὑπὸ φιλαυτίας ἰδίου τινός· τοῖς γὰρ μεγάλοις τὰ βραχέα καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς τὰ ἴδια ὑποστέλλειν ἀναγκαῖον, ὧν οἰχομένων ἔρρει καὶ ἡ πολιτεία.
- 194 ποῦ γὰρ ὅσιον ἢ θεμιτὸν ἄλλως ἀγωνίζεσθαι, δεικνύντας ὥς ἐσμέν Ἀλεξανδρεῖς, οἷς ὁ περὶ τῆς καθολικωτέρας πολιτείας ἐπικρέμαται κίνδυνος τῆς Ἰουδαίων; ἅμα γὰρ τῇ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταλύσει δέος, μὴ καὶ τὸ κοινὸν τοῦ ἔθνους ὄνομα συναφανισθῆναι κελεύσῃ ὁ νεωτεροποιὸς καὶ μεγαλουργὸς ἀνθρω-
- 195 πος. ἀμφοτέρων οὖν τῶν ὑποθέσεων δι' αὗς ἐστάλημεν οἰχομένων, ἴσως φήσῃ τις· τί οὖν, οὐκ ἤδεσαν πραγματεύεσθαι τὴν μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἐπάνοδον; πρὸς ὃν εἶπομι ἄν· ἢ οὐκ ἔχεις ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς πάθος γνήσιον ἢ οὐκ ἐνετράφης οὐδὲ ἐνησκήθης τοῖς ἱεροῖς γράμμασιν. ἐλπιδὼν εἰσὶ πλήρεις οἱ ὄντως εὐγενεῖς, καὶ οἱ νόμοι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι μὴ χεῖλεσιν ἄκροισ ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς
- 196 δημιουργοῦσιν. ἴσως ἀπόπειρα ταῦτα τῆς καθ-
εστώσης γενεᾶς ἐστὶ, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ εἰ
πεπαίδευται φέρειν τὰ δεινὰ λογισμοῖς ἰσχυρογνώ-
μοσιν οὐ προκαταπίπτουσα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐξ ἀν-
θρώπων ἅπαντα καὶ ἔρρει καὶ ἐρρέτω· μενέτω
δὲ ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀκαθαίρετος ἢ ἐπὶ τὸν σωτήρα
θεὸν ἐλπίς, ὃς πολλάκις ἐξ ἀμηχάνων καὶ ἀπόρων
περιέσωσε τὸ ἔθνος.
- 197 XXX. Ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν ὀλοφυρόμενοι τὰς ἀπροσ-

^a See *Intro.* pp. xxvi f.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 192-197

would fall more on those who sent us than on the actual sufferers? Indeed those among our fellow 193 nationals who most detest wickedness will accuse us of impiety in selfishly pleading for something which concerns us in particular, when the existence of all is tottering in extreme danger. For small things must needs give way to big and particular to general interests, the loss of which means the perdition of the body politic. For what religion or righteousness 194 is to be found in vainly striving to show that we are Alexandrians, when we are menaced by the danger which threatens a more universal interest, the corporate body of the Jews? For it is to be feared that the overthrow of the temple will be accompanied by an order for the annihilation of our common name and nation from the man who deals in revolution on so great a scale. If then both the 195 causes^a which we were sent to plead are lost, someone perhaps will say, 'Well what then? did they not know how to manage their safe return?' To such a one I would say, 'Either you have not the genuine feelings of the nobly born or you were not reared or trained in the sacred writings.' The truly noble are always hopeful and the laws create good hopes for those who take more than a mere sip of their study. Perhaps these things are sent to try the 196 present generation, to test the state of their virtue and whether they are schooled to bear dire misfortunes with a resolution which is fortified by reason and does not collapse at once. So then what man can do is gone, and let it go. But let our souls retain indestructible the hope in God our Saviour who has often saved the nation when in helpless straits."

XXX. Thus we talked on, at once lamenting 197

- δοκήτους ἀτυχίας ἅμα δὲ καὶ παρηγοροῦντες
 ἑαυτοὺς ἐλπίδι μεταβολῆς γαληνοτέρας διεξῆμεν.
 μικρὸν δὲ ἐπισχόντες πρὸς τοὺς ἀπαγγέιλαντας, |
 [575] “ τί καθ’ ἡσυχίαν,” εἶπομεν, “ κάθησθε, σπινθῆρας
 αὐτὸ μόνον τοῖς ὥσιν ἡμῶν ἐνιέντες, ὅφ’ ὧν καιό-
 μεθα καὶ πυρπολούμεθα, δέον προσεξηγεῖσθαι καὶ
 198 τὰ κεκινηκότα τὸν Γάιον;” οἱ δέ· “ τὴν μὲν
 ἀνωτάτῳ καὶ πρώτῃν αἰτίαν ἴστε, ἣν καὶ πάντες
 ἴσασιν ἄνθρωποι· θεὸς βούλεται νομίζεσθαι, ὑπ-
 εἴληφε δὲ μόνους Ἰουδαίους μὴ πείσεσθαι, οἷς
 μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἢ προστρίψαιτο κακὸν ἢ λυμηνάμενος
 τὴν τοῦ ἱεροῦ σεμνότητα. κατήχηται δέ, ὅτι καὶ
 πάντων ἱερῶν τῶν πανταχοῦ κάλλιστόν ἐστιν ἐξ
 ἀπείρων χρόνων ἀπαύστοις καὶ ἀφειδέσι δαπάναις
 αἰεὶ προσκοσμούμενον· δύσερις δὲ καὶ φιλόνεικος
 ὧν σφετερίσασθαι τοῦτο εἰς ἑαυτὸν διανοεῖται.
 199 παρατέθηται δὲ νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρό-
 τερον ἐξ ἐπιστολῆς, ἣν ἔπεμψε Καπίτων. φόρων
 ἐκλογεὺς ὁ Καπίτων ἐστὶ τῶν τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἔχει
 δὲ πῶς πρὸς τοὺς ἐγχωρίους ἐγκότῳ· πένης γὰρ
 ἀφίγμενος καὶ ἐξ ὧν νοσφίζεται καὶ παρεκλέγει
 ποικίλον τινὰ καὶ πολλὸν πλοῦτον ἡθροικῶς, εἶτα
 εὐλαβηθεῖς, μή τις αὐτοῦ γένηται κατηγορία,
 τέχνην ἐπενόησεν, ἥ διαβλαῖς τῶν ἰδικηθέντων
 200 διακρούσεται τὰς αἰτίας. ἀφορμὴν ἡ αὐτῷ δίδω-
 σιν εἰς ὅπερ ἐβούλετο συντυχῆαι τις τοιαύτη. τὴν
 Ἰάμνειαν—πόλις δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐν τοῖς
 μάλιστα πολυάνθρωπος—[ταύτην] μιγάδες οἰκοῦσιν,
 οἱ πλείους μὲν Ἰουδαῖοι, ἕτεροι δὲ τινες ἀλλόφυλοι
 παρεισφθαρέντες ἀπὸ τῶν πλησιοχώρων, οἱ τοῖς
 τρόπον τινὰ αὐθιγενέσιν ὄντες μέτοικοι κακὰ καὶ

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 197-200

our unexpected misfortunes and comforting ourselves with a hope of a change to serenier conditions. Then pausing for a little we said to those who had brought the news, "Why do you sit here silently merely implanting in our ears the sparks to light the fire by which we are consumed, instead of proceeding to tell us the causes which have moved Gaius to do this?" They replied, "You know the chief and 198 primary cause which all men also know. He wishes to be thought a god and has supposed that the only dissentients will be the Jews on whom he could inflict no greater injury than the ruin of the sanctity of their temple. He has been instructed that of all the temples anywhere it is the most beautiful, ever from endless ages embellished by ceaseless and unsparing expenditure. Quarrelsome and contentious as he is, he proposes to appropriate it for his own use.

But now his eagerness has become 199 keener than ever before owing to a letter sent to him by Capito. Capito is the tax-collector for Judaea and cherishes a spite against the population. When he came there he was a poor man but by his rapacity and speculation he has amassed much wealth in various forms. Then fearing that some accusation might be brought against him he devised a scheme to elude the charges by slandering those whom he had wronged. It chanced that an opportunity for obtain- 200 ing his object was given by the following incident. Jamneia, one of the most populous cities of Judaea, is inhabited by a mixture of people, the majority being Jews with some others of alien races, intruders for mischief from the dwellers in adjacent countries. These people being new settlers have made themselves a pest and a nuisance to those who are in a

- πράγματα παρέχουσιν, αεί τι παραλύντες τῶν
 201 πατρίων Ἰουδαίους. οὗτοι παρὰ τῶν ἐπιφοιτῶντων
 ἀκούοντες, ὅση σπουδῇ κέχρηται Γάιος περὶ τὴν
 ἰδίαν ἐκθέωσιν καὶ ὡς ἀλλοτριώτατα διάκειται
 πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν γένος, καιρὸν ἐπιτήδειον
 εἰς ἐπίθεσιν παραπεπτωκέναι νομίζοντες αὐτοσχέ-
 διον ἀνιστάσι βωμὸν εἰκαισιτάτης ὕλης, πηλὸν
 σχηματίσαντες εἰς πλίνθους, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνον ἐπι-
 βουλευεῖν τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν· ἥδεσαν γὰρ οὐκ ἀνεξο-
 μένους καταλυομένων τῶν ἐθῶν, ὅπερ καὶ ἐγένετο.
 202 θεασάμενοι γὰρ καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς
 ἱερᾶς χώρας τὸ ἱεροπρεπὲς ὄντως ἀφανίζεσθαι
 καθαιροῦσι συνελθόντες· οἱ δὲ εὐθύς ἐπὶ τὸν Κα-
 πίτωνα ἦκον, ὃς ἦν τοῦ δράματος ὅλου δημιουργός.
 ἔρμαιον δὲ εὐρηκέναι νομίσας, ὅπερ ἐκ πολλῶν
 χρόνων ἀνεζήτηι, γράφει Γαῖῳ διαίρων τὰ πράγ-
 203 ματα καὶ μετεωρίζων. ὁ δὲ διαναγνοὺς¹
 πλουσιώτερον καὶ μεγαλοφρονέστερόν τι ἀντὶ τοῦ
 πλινθίνου βωμοῦ τοῦ κατ' ἐπήρειαν ἀνασταθέντος
 [576] ἐν Ἰαμνεῖα κελεύει | κολοσσιαῖον ἀνδριάντα ἐπί-
 χρυσον ἐν τῷ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἱερῷ καθιδρυθῆναι,
 συμβούλοις χρησάμενος τοῖς ἀρίστοις καὶ σοφωτά-
 τοις, Ἑλικῶνι τῷ εὐπατρίδῃ δούλῳ, σπερμολόγῳ,
 περιτρίμματι, καὶ Ἀπελλῇ τινι τραγωδῷ, ὃς ἀκμῇ
 μὲν τῆς πρώτης ἡλικίας, ὡς φασιν, ἐκαπήλευσε
 τὴν ὥραν, ἕξωρος δὲ γενόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν
 204 παρῆλθεν. ὅσοι δὲ σκηνοβατοῦσιν ἐμπορευόμενοι
 θεαταῖς καὶ θεάτροις, αἰδοῦς εἰσι καὶ σωφροσύνης
 ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀναισχυντίας καὶ ἀκοσμίας ἐρασταὶ τῆς
 ἀνωτάτῳ διὰ ταῦτα εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμβούλου

¹ MSS. διαγνοὺς (which however is sometimes used in the same sense: v. Stephanus); cf. *Flaccus* 100.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 200-204

sense indigenous by perpetually subverting some part of the institutions of the Jews. Hearing from travel- 201
lers visiting them how earnestly Gaius was pressing his deification and the extreme hostility which he felt towards the whole Jewish race, they thought that a fit opportunity of attacking them had fallen in their way. Accordingly they erected an extemporized altar of the commonest material with the clay moulded into bricks, merely as a plan to injure their neighbours, for they knew that they would not allow their customs to be subverted, as indeed it turned 202
out. For, when they saw it and felt it intolerable that the sanctity which truly belongs to the Holy Land should be destroyed, they met together and pulled it down. The others at once went off to Capito, who was the author of the whole episode, and he, thinking that he had found a piece of luck which he had long been seeking, wrote to Gaius a highly 203
exaggerated account of the facts. Gaius

after reading it gave orders that in place of the altar of bricks erected in wanton spite in Jamneia something richer and more magnificent, namely a colossal statue coated with gold, should be set up in the temple of the mother city. In this he followed the advice of those excellent and sapient advisers, that member of the aristocracy Helicon, slave, scrap retailer, piece of riff-raff, and one Apelles^a a tragic actor, who, they say, in the flower of his prime had trafficked his youthful charms, but when the bloom was passed went on to the stage. Of course performers on the stage 204
whose trade is with theatres and theatre-goers are lovers of modesty and sobriety, not of shamelessness and extreme indecency. The reason why Apelles

^a Cf. Suet. *Gaius* 33 and Dio lix. 5.

τάξιν ὁ Ἀπελλῆς παρῆλθεν, ἵνα βουλευέσῃται Γάιος
 μεθ' οὗ μὲν ὡς σκωπτέον, μεθ' οὗ δὲ ὡς ἀστέον,
 ὑπερβὰς τὰς περὶ τῶν ὄλων σκέψεις, ὡς εἰρηνεύ-
 205 εσθαι καὶ ἡρεμεῖσθαι τὰ πανταχοῦ πάντα. ὁ μὲν
 οὖν Ἑλικῶν, σκορπιῶδες ἀνδράποδον, τὸν Αἰγυπ-
 τιακὸν ἰὸν εἰς Ἰουδαίους ἤφιεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς τὸν
 ἀπὸ Ἀσκάλωνος· ἦν γὰρ ἐκεῖθεν· Ἀσκαλωνίταις
 δὲ ἀσύμβατός τις καὶ ἀκατάλλακτος δυσμένεια
 πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἱερᾶς χώρας οἰκήτορας Ἰουδαίους
 206 ἐστὶν οὖσιν ὁμόροις." ταῦτα ἀκούοντες ἐφ' ἐκάσ-
 του ῥήματος καὶ ὀνόματος ἐτιρωσκόμεθα τὰς
 ψυχάς. ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καλῶν πράξεων καλοὶ σύμ-
 βουλοι μικρὸν ὕστερον τὰ ἐπίχειρα εὗρον τῆς
 ἀσεβείας, ὁ μὲν ὑπὸ Γαῖου σιδήρῳ δεθεὶς ἐφ' ἐτέ-
 ραις αἰτίαις καὶ στρεβλούμενος καὶ τροχιζόμενος
 ἐκ περιτροπῆς, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς περιοδιζούσαις
 νόσοις, ὁ δὲ Ἑλικῶν ὑπὸ Κλαυδίου Γερμανικοῦ
 Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθεὶς, ἐφ' οἷς ἄλλοις ὁ φρενοβλαβῆς
 ἠδίκησεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὕστερον ἐγένετο.
 207 XXXI. Ἡ δὲ περὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως τοῦ ἀνδριάντος
 ἐπιστολὴ γράφεται, καὶ οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἀλλ' ὡς οἶόν
 τε ἦν περιεσκεμμένως εἰς ἀσφάλειαν. κελεύει γὰρ
 Περωνίῳ τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἀπάσης ὑπάρχῳ, πρὸς
 ὃν καὶ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐγεγράφει, τῆς παρ' Εὐφράτῃ
 στρατιᾶς, ἣ τὴν διάβασιν τῶν ἐξῶν βασιλέων καὶ
 ἐθνῶν παρεφύλαττε, τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἄγειν ἐπὶ τῆς
 Ἰουδαίας τὸν ἀνδριάντα παραπέμψουσιν, οὐχ ἵνα
 σεμνοποιήσῃ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν, ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἰ διακωλύοι¹
 208 τις, εὐθύς ἀπόλῃται. τί λέγεις, ὦ δέσποτα;

¹ MSS. διακωλύει.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 204-207

was advanced to the post of councillor was that Gaius might take advice on the right method of jesting from one and of chanting from the other, having set aside all consideration for the general welfare by which peace and tranquillity of every thing in every place might be maintained. So then Helicon, scorpion 205 in form of a slave, vented his Egyptian venom on the Jews and so too Apelles with the venom of Ascalon. For that was the place he came from, and the Ascalonites have a truceless and irreconcilable hostility to the Jewish inhabitants of the Holy Land on whose borders they live." As we heard this every single 206 word was a wound to our souls. But shortly afterwards these admirable advisers of admirable actions received the reward of their impiety. Apelles for other reasons was thrown by Gaius into chains of iron and tortured by the rack and the wheel in turns ^a like people suffering from recurring fevers. Helicon was put to death by Claudius Germanicus Caesar for the other wrongs which the madman had committed. But these events belong to a later time.

XXXI. Gaius's letter enjoining the dedication of 207 the statue was written not in simple terms but with all circumspection possible to ensure safety. He ordered his viceroy for the whole of Syria, Petronius, to whom the letter was addressed, to bring for the conduct of the statue to Judaea half the army quartered on the Euphrates to guard the passage against the kings and nations of the east. This was done not to add dignity to the dedication but to effect the immediate destruction of anyone who tried to prevent it.

^a Or "periodically" (rack and wheel being regarded as a single process), which suits the figure of recurrent fevers better.

προειληφώς οὐκ ἀνεξομένους, ἀλλ' ὑπερασπιούντας τοῦ νόμου καὶ προαποθανουμένους τῶν πατρίων πολεμοποιεῖς; οὐ γὰρ ἔοικας δι' ἄγνοιαν ὧν εἰκὸς ἦν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἄψασθαι νεω-
 τερισμοῦ, προμαθὼν δὲ ἀκριβῶς τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς ἡδὴ παρόντα καὶ τὰ γενησόμενα ὡς χειριζόμενα¹ |
 [577] τὴν στρατιὰν εἰσάγειν προσέταξας, ἵνα θυσίαις
 ἐναγέσι² πρώταις καθιερωθῇ τὸ ἀφίδρυμα, σφαγαῖς
 209 ἀθλίων ἀνδρῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν. ὁ
 μὲν οὖν Πετρώνιος τὰ ἐπισταλέντα διαναγνοὺς ἐν
 ἀμηχάνοις ἦν, οὔτε ἐναντιοῦσθαι δυνάμενος διὰ
 φόβον—ἦδει γὰρ ἀφόρητον οὐ μόνον κατὰ τῶν τὰ
 κελευσθέντα μὴ πραξάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τῶν μὴ
 εὐθύς—οὔτε ἐγχειρεῖν εὐμαρῶς· ἦδει γὰρ ἀνθ' ἐνὸς
 θανάτου μυρίου ἄν, εἴπερ δυνατόν ἦν, ἐβελήσοντας
 ὑπομεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ περιδεῖν τι τῶν ἀπειρημένων
 210 δρώμενον. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι φυλακτικοὶ τῶν
 ἰδίων ἐθῶν εἰσι, διαφερόντως δὲ τὸ Ἰουδαίων
 ἔθνος· θεόχρηστα γὰρ λόγια τοὺς νόμους εἶναι
 ὑπολαμβάνοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας τὸ
 μάθημα παιδευθέντες ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀγαλματο-
 211 φοροῦσι τὰς τῶν διατεταγμένων εἰκόνας· εἶτα
 ἐναργεῖς τύπους καὶ μορφὰς αὐτῶν καθορῶντες
 αἰεὶ τοῖς λογισμοῖς αὐτῶν τεθήσασιν· καὶ τοὺς μὲν
 τιμητικῶς ἔχοντας ἀλλοφύλους αὐτῶν οὐχ ἡττον
 τῶν ἰδίων ἀποδέχονται πολιτῶν, τοῖς δὲ ἢ καθαι-
 ροῦσιν ἢ χλευάζουσιν ὡς πολεμιωτάτοις ἀπέχθονται·
 καὶ πεφρίκασι μὲν ἕκαστον τῶν διηγορευμένων

¹ MSS. χειριζόμενα ὅτ ἐν χειρὶ ἐσόμενα.

² MSS. ἐναγέσι.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 208-211

What mean you by this, my lord and master? is it 208
an act of war based on the foreknowledge that they
would not submit but would take up arms to defend
the laws and die for their national institutions?
For surely it was not done in ignorance of the
probable results of any attempt to violate the
temple. No, you foresaw what would take place as
clearly as if it were already present and the future
events as though they were already in hand, and
so you ordered the army to be brought in that the
first sacrifice with which the image was consecrated
might be polluted with the massacre of unhappy
men and women alike.

Petronius hav- 209
ing read the instructions was in great difficulties.
Fear made it impossible for him to oppose the
order, for he knew that Gaius crushed irresistibly
not only those who did not carry out his command
but also those who did not do so at once. Neither
could he lightly undertake it, for he knew that the
Jews would willingly endure to die not once but
a thousand times, if it were possible, rather than
allow any of the prohibited actions to be committed.
For all men guard their own customs, but this is 210
especially true of the Jewish nation. Holding that
the laws are oracles vouchsafed by God and having
been trained in this doctrine from their earliest years,
they carry the likenesses of the commandments
enshrined in their souls. Then as they contemplate 211
their forms thus clearly represented they always think
of them with awe. And those of other races who
pay homage to them they welcome no less than their
own countrymen, while those who either break them
down or mock at them they hate as their bitterest
foes. And such dread is inspired by each of the pro-

- οὕτως, ὡς ἅπασαν τὴν παρ' ἀνθρώποις εἴτε εὐτυχίαν εἴτε εὐδαιμονίαν χρή καλεῖν μηδέποτ' ἂν ὑπὲρ παραβάσεως καὶ τοῦ τυχόντος ἂν ὑπαλλάξασθαι.
- 212 περιττοτέρα δὲ καὶ ἐξαιρετός ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἅπασιν ἢ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν σπουδή. τεκμήριον δὲ μέγιστον· θάνατος ἀπαραίτητος ὥρισται κατὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐντὸς περιβόλους παρελθόντων—δέχονται γὰρ εἰς τοὺς ἐξωτέρω τοὺς πανταχόθεν πάντας—τῶν οὐχ ὁμοεθνῶν.
- 213 Εἰς δὴ ταῦτα ἀφορῶν ὁ Πετρώνιος βραδὺς ἦν ἐγχειρητής, ὅσον τόλμημα μεγαλουργεῖται σκεπτόμενος, καὶ συγκαλέσας ὡς ἐν συνεδρίῳ τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαντας λογισμοὺς τὴν ἐκάστου γνώμην διηρεῦνα καὶ πάντας εὑρίσκειν ὁμογνωμονοῦντας περὶ τοῦ μηδὲν κινεῖν τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καθωσιωμένων, πρῶτον διὰ τὸ φύσει δίκαιον καὶ εὐσεβές, ἔπειτα διὰ τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον κίνδυνον, οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ μόνον
- 214 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐπηρεαζομένων. ἔννοιά τε αὐτὸν εἰσῆει τοῦ ἔθνους, ὅσον ἐστὶν ἐν πολυανθρωπία, ὅπερ οὐχ ἐδέξατο καθάπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἕκαστον μιᾶς χώρας τῆς ἀποκεκληρωμένης αὐτῷ μόνῳ περίβολος, ἀλλ' ὀλίγου δέω φάναι πᾶσα ἡ οἰκουμένη· κέχυται γὰρ ἀνά τε τὰς ἡπείρους καὶ νήσους ἀπάσας, ὡς τῶν αὐθιγενῶν μὴ πολλῶ τινι
- 215 δοκεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι. τοσαύτας μυριάδας ἐφέλκεσθαι πολεμίων ἄρ' οὐ σφαλερώτατον; ἀλλὰ μήποτε γένοιτο συμφρονήσαντας τοὺς ἐκασταχοῦ πρὸς ἄμυναν ἐλθεῖν· ἄμαχόν τι συμβήσεται χρήμα· δίχα τοῦ καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κατοικοῦντας |
- [578] ἀπείρους τε εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰ σώματα γεν-

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 211-215

nouncements that they would never purchase what men deem good fortune or happiness, whichever name is right, by transgressing even in the slightest matters. Still more abounding and peculiar is the 212 zeal of them all for the temple, and the strongest proof of this is that death without appeal is the sentence against those of other races who penetrate into its inner confines. For the outer are open to everyone wherever they come from.

Having these things before his eyes Petronius was 213 slow to set to work. He saw the audacity of so vast an enterprise, and having mustered all the reasoning faculties of his soul, as though in a council, he looked to see what verdict they gave, and found it unanimous against destroying anything which was held sacred from the beginning, primarily from a feeling of natural justice and piety, secondly from the danger threatened not only from God but from the victims of the outrage.

He bethought him of the 214 vast number of people comprised in the nation, which needed to contain it not like every other the circumference of a single country allotted to itself alone, but, one might almost say, the whole habitable world. For it is spread abroad over all the continents and islands so that it seems to be not much less than the indigenous inhabitants. To draw all these myriads 215 into war against him was surely very dangerous. Heaven forbid indeed that the Jews in every quarter should come by common agreement to the defence. The result would be something too stupendous to be combated.^a But without this the inhabitants of Judea are unlimited in number. Their bodies are

^a *χρῆμα* is used in the idiomatic sense of something big, of which *ὅς χρῆμα μέγα* is the stock example.

PHILO

- ναιοτάτους καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς εὐτολμοτάτους καὶ
 προαποθνήσκειν αἰρουμένους τῶν πατρίων ὑπὸ
 φρονήματος, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι τῶν διαβαλλόντων εἵποιεν
 ἄν, βαρβαρικοῦ, ὡς δὲ ἔχει τάληθές, ἐλευθερίου καὶ
 216 εὐγενοῦς. ἐφόβουν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ αἱ πέραν Εὐ-
 φράτου δυνάμεις· ἦδει γὰρ Βαβυλῶνα καὶ πολλὰς
 ἄλλας τῶν σατραπειῶν ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων κατεχομένας,
 οὐκ ἀκοῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πείρα· καθ' ἕκαστον γὰρ
 ἐνιαυτὸν ἱεροπομποὶ στέλλονται χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον
 πλεῖστον κομίζοντες εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν ἀθροισθέντα
 ἐκ τῶν ἀπαρχῶν, δυσβάτους καὶ ἀτριβεῖς καὶ
 ἀνηνύτους ὁδοὺς περαιούμενοι, ἃς λεωφόρους εἶναι
 νομίζουσιν, ὅτι πρὸς εὐσέβειαν ἄγειν δοκοῦσι.
 217 περιδεῆς οὖν ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν, μὴ πυθόμενοι τὴν
 καινουργουμένην ἀνάθεσιν ἐπιφοιτήσωσιν ἐξαίφνης
 καὶ περισχῶσιν, οἱ μὲν ἔνθεν οἱ δὲ ἐνθεν, κύκλος
 γενόμενοι, καὶ συνάψαντες ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ἐναποληφ-
 θέντας μέσους δεινὰ ἐργάσωνται. τοιοῦτοις μὲν
 218 λογισμοῖς χρώμενος ἀπώκνει. πάλιν δὲ
 ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀνθείλκετο, “δεσπότης,” λέγων,
 “ἡ πρόσταξις ἐστὶ καὶ νέου καὶ ὃ τι ἂν βουλευθῇ
 τοῦτο συμφέρον κρίνοντος καὶ τὸ γνωσθὲν ἅπαξ
 ἐπιτελεσθῆναι, κἂν ἀλυσιτελέστατον ἢ καὶ φιλο-
 νεικίας καὶ ἀλαζονείας γέμον, ὅς γε καὶ ὑπερπηδή-
 σας τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐν θεοῖς ἤδη γράφει ἑαυτόν.
 ἐπικρέμαται δὴ μοι κίνδυνος ὁ περὶ ψυχῆς καὶ
 ἐναντιωθέντι καὶ εἷξαντι, ἀλλ' εἷξαντι μὲν μετὰ
 πολέμου καὶ τάχα ἀμφίβολος¹ καὶ οὐ πάντως
 ἀποβησόμενος,¹ ἐναντιωθέντι δὲ ἀπαραίτητος καὶ

¹ Perhaps read ἀμφίβολον . . . ἀποβησομένον, which would be more logical.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 215-218

of the finest quality and their souls of the highest courage, preferring to die in defence of their national institutions, moved by a high spirit not as some of their slanderers would say barbaric but in very truth worthy of the free and nobly born. He was frightened 216 also by the forces beyond the Euphrates, since that Babylon and many other satrapies were occupied by Jews was known to him not only by report but by experience. For every year envoys were dispatched for the sacred purpose of conveying to the temple a great quantity of gold and silver amassed from the firstfruits, and these envoys travel over the pathless, trackless, endless routes which seem to them good highroads because they feel that they lead them to piety. So he was naturally much alarmed lest hearing of this unprecedented dedication the Jews of 217 those parts might suddenly take to raiding, and coming from different quarters might encircle his troops and joining hands attack them now isolated in their midst with terrible effect. While following this line of reasoning he shrank from action. Then again he was drawn in the opposite direction 218 by counter-arguments. "The order," he said, "is given by a master who is young and judges that whatever he wishes is beneficial and that what he has once decreed is as good as accomplished, be it ever so unprofitable and charged with contentiousness and arrogance. For he has soared above man's estate and already ranks himself as among the gods. My life is in imminent danger whether I oppose or give way, but while if I give way the danger is the prospect of war the result of which is doubtful, and there is no certainty that it will happen at all, if I oppose, its source is Gaius and it admits of no appeal and no

- 219 ὁμολογούμενος ἐκ Γαῖου." συνελάμβανον δὲ τῇ
 γνώμῃ ταύτῃ πολλοὶ τῶν συνδιεπόντων τὰ κατὰ
 Συρίαν αὐτῷ Ῥωμαίων, εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 πρώτους αἱ ἀπὸ Γαῖου χωρήσουσιν ὀργαὶ καὶ
 τιμωρίαι ὡς συναιτίους τοῦ τὸ κελευσθὲν μὴ
 220 γενέσθαι. παρέσχε δὲ εἰς ἀκριβεστέραν σκέψιν
 ἀναχώρησιν ἢ κατασκευὴ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος· οὔτε γὰρ
 ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης διεπέμψατο—θεοῦ μοι προνοία
 δοκῶ τὴν χεῖρα τῶν ἀδικουμένων ἀφανῶς ὑπερ-
 ἔχοντος—οὔτε τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν ὅστις ἂν ἄριστος
 εἶναι δοκιμασθῇ μετακομίζειν προσέταξεν, ἐπεὶ
 καὶ τῷ τάχει τῆς παρανομίας ταχὺς ἐξήφθη ὁ
 221 πόλεμος. καιρὸν οὖν σχῶν¹ εἰς τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος
 [579] διάσκεψιν |—τὰ γὰρ αἰφνίδια καὶ μεγάλα, ὅταν
 ἀθρόα προσπέσῃ, κατακλᾷ τὸν λογισμόν—προσ-
 τάττει τὴν κατασκευὴν ἔν τινι τῶν ὁμόρων
 222 ποιεῖσθαι. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν ὁ Πετρώνιος
 δημιουργοὺς τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ τοὺς φρονιμωτάτους
 δίδωσι τὴν ὕλην· οἱ δὲ ἐν Σιδῶνι εἰργάζοντο.
 μεταπέμπεται δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει
 τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἱερεῖς τε καὶ ἄρχοντας, ἅμα μὲν
 δηλώσων τὰ ἀπὸ Γαῖου, ἅμα δὲ καὶ συμβουλευσὼν
 ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος προσταττομένων
 καὶ τὰ δεινὰ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν λαμβάνειν· εὐτρεπεῖς
 γὰρ εἶναι τῶν κατὰ Συρίαν στρατιωτικῶν δυνάμεων

¹ MSS. σχόντος. I feel some doubt about this correction, which is accepted by Mangey and Reiter. The form of the sentence and the appearance of Petronius's name in the next sentence rather suggest that Gaius and not he is the subject of *προσάττει*. Is there any objection to this on the ground

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 218-222

denial." This latter view was supported by many 219 Romans who shared his administration of Syria, since they knew that the wrath and vengeance of Gaius would reach them first as accomplices in making his orders of none effect. An opportunity for a respite 220 to take a closer consideration was afforded by the constructing of the statue. For Gaius had not had one sent from Rome, in my opinion through the providence of God, who unseen by us stretched out his hand to protect the wronged, nor did he command Petronius to select from the statues in Syria the one approved of as best and send it to Jerusalem. For speed in the execution of his unlawful purpose would have led to a speedy outburst of war. So Petronius 221 having got an opportunity for consideration of the best course to adopt, since great and sudden emergencies when they fall with concentrated force crush the reasoning faculty, ordered the construction to be carried out in some one of the adjacent countries and accordingly sent for the most clever craftsmen 222 to be found in Phoenicia and gave them the material which they worked up in Sidon. He also sent for the magnates of the Jews, priests and magistrates, partly to explain Gaius's intentions and partly to advise them to accept the orders of their lord and master and keep before their eyes the dire consequences of doing otherwise. For, as he told them, the more efficient part of the armed forces in Syria

of sense? It was natural that Gaius should tell Petronius to get a statue made and he may be credited with enough sense to see that it had better not be made in Judaea itself. In this case the proper correction would be *αχόντι*, but even this is not absolutely necessary. Examples of the genitive absolute where strict grammar demands another case are not unknown. See Goodwin's *Moods and Tenses* 850.

- τὰς μαχιμωτέρας, αἱ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν καταστορέ-
 223 σουσι νεκρῶν. ὥετο γάρ, εἰ προμαλάξειε τούτους, δυνήσεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πληθύν ἅπασαν ἀναδιδάξαι¹ μὴ ἐναντιοῦσθαι· γνώμης δέ, ὡς εἰκός, διημάρτανε. πληχθέντας γάρ φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν πρώτων ῥημάτων εὐθύς αὐτοὺς ἀήθους² κακοῦ διηγῆσει καταπαγῆναι³ καὶ ἀχανεῖς γενομένους φοράν τινα δακρύων ὥσπερ ἀπὸ πηγῶν ἀθρόαν ἐκχεῖν, τὰ γένεια καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς
 224 τίλλοντας καὶ τοιαῦτα ἐπιλέγοντας· “πολλὰ εἰσ-
 ηνέγκαμεν εἰς εὐγῆρω βίον οἱ λίαν εὐτυχεῖς, ἵνα ὁ μηδεὶς πώποτε εἶδε τῶν προγόνων ἡμεῖς θεασώ-
 μεθα· τίσιν ὀφθαλμοῖς; ἐκκοπήσονται πρότερον μετὰ τῆς ἀθλίας ψυχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπωδύνου ζωῆς ἢ τοιοῦτον ὄψονται κακόν, ἀθέατον θέαν, ἣν οὔτε ἀκοῦσαι θέμις οὔτε νοῆσαι.”
- 225 XXXII. Καὶ οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα ὠλοφύροντο. πυθό-
 μενοι δὲ οἱ κατὰ τὴν ἱερόπολιν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην
 χώραν τὸ κινούμενον, ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐνὸς συνθήματος
 συνταξάμενοι, τοῦ κοινοῦ πάθους τὸ σύνθημα
 δόντος, ἐξεληλύθεσαν ἀθρόοι καὶ κενὰς τὰς πόλεις
 καὶ κώμας καὶ οἰκίας ἀπολιπόντες μιᾷ ῥύμῃ
 συνέτεινον εἰς Φοινίκην· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ὧν ἐτύγγανεν
 226 ὁ Πετρώνιος. ἰδόντες δὲ τῶν Πετρωνίου τινὲς
 ὄχλον ἀμύθητον φερόμενον ἐβοηδρόμουν ἀπαγγέλ-

¹ MSS. ἀναδιδάξειν.² MSS. ἀληθοῦς.³ MSS. καταπαγῆναι.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 222-226

were ready at hand and would strew the land with the dead. For he thought that if he could start by 223 appeasing them he could use them to instruct all the rest of the population to abstain from opposition. But he failed as might be expected to effect his intention. Smitten by his first words, we are told, as soon as they heard the story of the abnormal calamity they stood riveted to the ground, incapable of speech, and then while a flood of tears poured from their eyes as from fountains they plucked the hair from their beards and heads and finally uttered such words as these, "Did we too for- 224 tunate pay so much to purchase a long and happy life," only to behold what none of our forefathers saw in the past? How can our eyes bear it? they shall be torn out and with them the miseries of life, the anguish of our existence, before they look on such a calamity—a sight unfit for them to see, unlawful for the ears to hear, or the mind to imagine."

XXXII. While they were thus lamenting, the 225 inhabitants of the holy city and the rest of the country hearing what was afoot marshalled themselves as if at a single signal, the signal which their common situation gave them, and issued forth in a body leaving cities, villages and houses empty and in one onrush sped to Phoenicia where Petronius chanced to be. Some of his people seeing a vast 226 crowd moving along ran to his aid and made their report in order that he might take precautions

* If the translation is right it seems to mean that their fortunes and actions had been such that they expected to end their days happily. But the phrasing is odd. Mangey translates "en quo minus beati pervenimus," which I cannot fit into the Greek at all.

λοντες, ἵνα φυλάττηται, πόλεμον προσδοκήσαντες.
 ἔτι δὲ διηγουμένων, ὁ μὲν ἀφρούρητος ἦν, ἡ δὲ τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων πληθὺς ἐξαπιναίως ὥσπερ νέφος ἐπι-
 σταῖσα πᾶσαν Φοινίκην ἐπέσχε, κατάπληξιν τοῖς
 οὐκ εἰδόσι τὴν τοῦ ἔθνους πολυανθρωπίαν ἐργασα-
 227 μένη. καὶ βοή μὲν τοσαύτη τὸ πρῶτον ἦρθη μετὰ
 κλαυθμῶν καὶ στερνοτυπιῶν, ὥς ἂν μηδὲ τὰς
 ἀκοὰς τῶν παρόντων χωρεῖν τὸ μέγεθος· οὐδὲ
 γὰρ ἐπαύσατο παυσασμένων, ἀλλ' ἡσυχασάντων ἔτι
 συνήχει. ἔπειτα πρόσοδοι καὶ δεήσεις, οἷας ὁ
 καιρὸς ὑπέβαλλε· διδάσκαλοι γὰρ τοῦ παρόντος¹
 αὐταὶ αἱ συμφοραί. εἰς τάξεις δὲ ἐξ διενεμήθησαν,
 πρεσβυτῶν, νέων, παίδων, πάλιν ἐν μέρει πρεσ-
 βυτιδίων, γυναικῶν τῶν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, παρθένων.
 228 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Πετρώνιος ἐξ ἀπόπτου κατεφάνη, πᾶσαι
 [580] αἱ τάξεις καθάπερ | κελευσθεῖσαι προσπίπτουσιν
 εἰς ἔδαφος ὀλολυγὴν θρηνώδη τινὰ μεθ' ἱκετηριῶν
 ἀφιεῖσαι. παραινέσαντος δὲ ἀνίστασθαι καὶ προσ-
 ελθεῖν ἐγγυτέρω, μόλις ἀνίσταντο καὶ καταχεά-
 μενοι πολλὴν κόνιν καὶ ρέομενοι δακρύοις, τὰς
 χεῖρας ἀμφοτέρας εἰς τοῦπίσω περιαγαγόντες
 229 τρόπον ἐξηγκωνισμένων, προσήεσαν. εἶτα ἡ
 γερουσία καταστᾶσα τοιάδε ἔλεξεν· “ ἄοπλοι μὲν
 ᾤσμεν, ὥς ὀρᾶς, παραγενομένους δὲ αἰτιῶνται
 τινες ὡς πολεμίους. ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις ἐκάστω προσ-
 ἐνειμεν ἀμυντήρια μέρη, χεῖρας, ἀπεστρόφαμεν,
 ἔνθα μηδὲν ἐργάσασθαι δύνανται, παρέχοντες αὐτῶν
 τὰ σώματα πρὸς εὐσκόπους τοῖς θέλουσιν ἀπο-
 230 κτεῖναι βολὰς. γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ γενεὰς²

¹ Reiter and Mangey, who suggested *πρέποντος*, both suspect *παρόντος*. Note that *τοῦ γὰρ παρόντος συμφοραὶ διδάσκαλοι* would form an iambic line.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 226-230

against the war which they expected. They had not finished their story and Petronius still remained unguarded, when the multitude of the Jews suddenly descended like a cloud and occupied the whole of Phoenicia to the profound astonishment of those who did not know how populous the nation was. The first thing to be observed was the great shouting 227 which arose mingled with weeping and smiting of breasts, so great that it was more than the ears of those present could contain. For even when they paused there was no pausing in the sound but it still echoed even amid their silence. The next step was to approach Petronius and make such supplications as the occasion suggested, for great misfortunes themselves teach men what their situation is. They were divided into six companies, old men, young men, boys, and again in their turn old women, grown women, maidens. When Petronius 228 first appeared in the distance all the companies as though at a word of command fell before him to the ground uttering a dirge-like wail with cries of supplication. When he encouraged them to rise and come nearer, they rose with some reluctance and with dust poured all over them, their eyes streaming with tears and both hands set behind them as though they were pinioned, they approached him. Then the body 229 of elders stood and spoke as follows, "We are unarmed as you see, though some accuse us of having come as enemies in war, yet the parts which nature has assigned to each of us for defence, our hands, we have put away where they can do nothing and present our bodies as an easy target for the missiles of those who wish to kill us. We have brought our 230

² Perhaps read *γυνέας*. See note *a* on p. 120.

ἐπηγαγόμεθά σοι καὶ διὰ σοῦ προσεπέσομεν¹ Γαῖῳ
μηδένα οἴκοι καταλιπόντες, ἵνα ἡ περισώσητε
πάντας ἢ πάντας πανωλεθρία διαφθείρητε. Πε-
τρώνιε, καὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐσμέν εἰρηνικοὶ καὶ τὴν
προαίρεσιν, καὶ αἱ διὰ παιδοτροφίαν φιλεργίαι
τοῦτο ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐπαίδευσαν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα.

- 231 Γαῖῳ παραλαβόντι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρῶτοι τῶν
κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπάντων ἡμεῖς συνήσθημεν, Οὐτελ-
λίῳ τότε, παρ' οὗ διεδέξω τὴν ἐπιτροπήν, ἐν τῇ
πόλει διατρίβοντος, ᾧ τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐκομίσθη
γράμματα, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως εὐαγ-
γελιουμένη πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἔδραμεν ἡ φήμη.
- 232 πρῶτον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱερὸν ἐδέξατο τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἀρχῆς Γαῖου θυσίας, ἵνα πρῶτον ἢ καὶ μόνον
ἀφαιρεθῇ τῆς θρησκείας τὸ πάτριον; ἐξιστάμεθα
τῶν πόλεων, παραχωροῦμεν τῶν οἰκιῶν καὶ κτη-
μάτων, ἐπιπλα καὶ χρήματα καὶ κειμήλια καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην ἅπασαν λείαν εἰσοίσομεν ἐκόντες· λαμβάνειν,
οὐ διδόναι, ταῦτα νομιοῦμεν. ἐν ἀντὶ πάντων
αἰτούμεθα, μηδὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γενέσθαι νεώτερον,
ἀλλὰ φυλαχθῆναι τοιοῦτον, οἷον παρὰ τῶν πάππων
- 233 καὶ προγόνων παρελάβομεν. εἰ δὲ μὴ πείθομεν,
παραδίδομεν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἀπώλειαν, ἵνα μὴ ζῶντες
ἐπίδωμεν θανάτου χεῖρον κακόν. πυνθανόμεθα
πεζὰς καὶ ἵππικὰς δυνάμεις εὐτρεπίσθαι καθ'

¹ mss. προσπεσούμεθα. I am not sure that the change is necessary. Their prostration before Petronius could when reported in the future to Gaius constitute a prostration before him.

^a Philo sometimes uses γενεά="family," cf. § 308. But
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THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 230-233

wives, our children and our families^a to you, leaving none at home, and have prostrated ourselves before Gaius in doing so to you, that you and he may either save us all from ruin or send us all to perish in utter destruction. O Petronius, both by our nature and our principles we are peaceable, and the diligence which parents devote to rearing their children has trained us in this practice from the very first. When 231 Gaius succeeded to the sovereignty we were the first of all the inhabitants of Syria to show our joy, for Vitellius your predecessor as governor was staying in the city, and it was to him that the letter telling the news was sent and it was from our city that rumour to carry the good tidings sped to the others. Was our temple the first to accept sacrifices in behalf 232 of Gaius's reign only that it should be the first or even the only one to be robbed of its ancestral tradition of worship? We are evacuating our cities, withdrawing from our houses and lands; our furniture and money and cherished possessions and all the other spoil we will willingly make over. We should think ourselves gainers thereby, not givers. One thing only we ask in return for all, that no violent changes should be made in this temple and that it be kept as we received it from our grandparents and ancestors. But if we cannot persuade you, we give up ourselves 233 for destruction that we may not live to see a calamity worse than death. We hear that forces of cavalry and infantry have been prepared against us if we

it is strange to find it=" the rest of the family." So in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 159 we have γυναῖα τούτων καὶ τέκνα καὶ γονεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην γενεάν. In suggesting γονέας I do not forget that elsewhere he seems regularly to use γονεῖς. But γονέας is a known Attic form and he may have thought it appropriate for a highly rhetorical speech put into the mouth of another.

ἡμῶν, εἰ πρὸς τὴν ἀνάθεσιν ἀντιβαίημεν. οὐδεὶς
 οὕτως μέμνηεν, ὥς δοῦλος ὢν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεσ-
 πότῃ· παρέχομεν ἐν ἐτοίμῳ τὰς σφαγὰς ἄσμενοι,
 κτεινέτωσαν, ἱερενέτωσαν, κρεανομείτωσαν ἅμαχεϊ
 καὶ ἀναιμωτί, πάντα ὅσα κεκρατηκότων ἔργα
 234 δράττωσαν. τίς δὲ χρεῖα στρατιᾶς; αὐτοὶ κατάρ-
 [581] ξομεν | τῶν θυμάτων οἱ καλοὶ ἱερεῖς, παραστησό-
 μενοι τῷ ἱερῷ γυναικας οἱ γυναικοκτόνοι, ἀδελφοὺς
 καὶ ἀδελφὰς οἱ ἀδελφοκτόνοι, κούρους καὶ κόρας,
 τὴν ἄκακον ἡλικίαν, οἱ παιδοφόνται· τραγικῶν
 γὰρ ὀνομάτων δεῖ τοῖς τὰς τραγικὰς συμφορὰς
 235 ὑπομένουσιν. εἴτ' ἐν μέσοις στάντες καὶ λουσά-
 μενοι τῷ συγγενικῷ αἵματι—τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ λουτρά
 τοῖς εἰς ἄδου φαιδρυνόμενοις—ἀνακερασόμεθα τὸ
 236 ἴδιον ἐπικατασφάζαντες αὐτούς. ἀποθανόντων τὸ
 ἐπίταγμα γενέσθω· μέμφαιτ' ἂν οὐδὲ θεὸς ἡμᾶς
 ἀμφοτέρων στοχαζομένους, καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν
 αὐτοκράτορα εὐλαβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς καθω-
 σιωμένους νόμους ἀποδοχῆς· γενήσεται δὲ τοῦτο,
 εἰ ἂν ὑπεκστῶμεν ἀβιῶτου βίου καταφρονήσαντες.
 237 ἄκοὴν ἐδεξάμεθα παλαιτάτην ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν
 Ἑλλάδα λογίων παραδοθεῖσαν, οἱ τὴν τῆς Γοργόνης
 κεφαλὴν τοσαύτην ἔχειν δύναμιν ὡμολόγουν, ὥστε
 τοὺς προσιδόντας εὐθύς λίθους καὶ πέτρους γίνε-
 σθαι. τοῦτο μύθου μὲν πλάσμα ἔοικεν εἶναι, τὸ
 δ' ἀληθὲς αἱ μεγάλαι καὶ ἀβούλητοι καὶ ἀνήκεστοι
 συντυχίαι ἐπιφέρουσιν. ὄργαι δεσπότης θάνατον
 238 ἀπεργάζονται ἢ παραπλήσιόν τι θανάτῳ. νομίζεις,
 ὃ μήποτε γένοιτο, παραπεμπόμενον εἰ θεάσαιντό

* Or "fine priests indeed"—a strange travesty of priest-
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THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 233-238

oppose the installation. No one is so mad as to oppose a master when he is a slave. We gladly put our throats at your disposal. Let them slaughter, butcher, carve our flesh without a blow struck or blood drawn by us and do all the deeds that conquerors commit. But what need of an army! our 234 selves will conduct the sacrifices, priests of a noble order^a: wives will be brought to the altar by wife-slayers, brothers and sisters by fratricides, boys and girls in the innocence of their years by child-murderers. For the tragedian's vocabulary is needed for those who endure tragical misfortunes. Then 235 standing in the midst of our kinsfolk after bathing ourselves in their blood, the right bathing for those who would go to Hades clean, we will mingle our blood with theirs by the crowning slaughter of ourselves. When we are dead let the prescript be 236 carried out; not God himself could blame us who had a twofold motive, respectful fear of the emperor and loyalty to the consecrated laws. And this aim will be accomplished if we take our departure in contempt of the life which is no life. We have 237 heard a very ancient story handed down by the common consent of learned men of Greece, that the Gorgon's head had such great power that those who looked upon it were turned at once into rocks and stones. The story is no doubt a mythical figment but great and disastrous and irreparable circumstances do bring with them the truth which it conveys. A despot's angry passions do work death or something like death. Think you that if, which 238 Heaven forbid, any of our people should see the

hood, *καλοί* being used ironically, as perhaps always when applied to persons.

- τινες τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸν ἀνδριάντα, οὐκ ἂν εἰς πέτρους¹ μεταβαλεῖν, παγέντων μὲν αὐτοῖς τῶν ἄρθρων, παγέντων δὲ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν, ὡς μηδὲ κινήσῃναι δύνασθαι, ὅλου δὲ τοῦ σώματος τὰς φυσικὰς κινήσεις μεταβαλόντος καθ' ἕκαστον
- 239 τῶν ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ μερῶν αὐτοῦ; τελευταίαν δέξιν, ὦ Πετρώνιε, ποιησόμεθα δικαιολόγητον· οὐ φάμεν μὴ δεῖν τὰ κελευσθέντα δρᾶν, ἀλλ' ἀναχωρησιν αἰτούμεθα προσικετεύοντες, ἵνα πρεσβείαν ἐλόμενοι πέμψωμεν τὴν ἐντευξομένην τῷ δεσπότῃ.
- 240 τάχα που πρεσβευσάμενοι πείσομεν, ἢ περὶ θεοῦ τιμῆς πως διεξεληθόντες ἢ περὶ νομίμων ἀκαθαιρέτων φυλακῆς ἢ περὶ τοῦ μὴ πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἐσχατιαῖς ἐθνῶν, οἷς τετήρηται τὰ πάτρια, ἔλαττον ἐνέγκασθαι ἢ περὶ ὧν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ καὶ πρόπαππος ἐγνωσαν ἐπισφραγιζόμενοι τὰ ἡμέτερα ἔθνη
- 241 μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας. ἴσως ταῦτα ἀκούων ἔσται μαλακώτερος· οὐκ ἐν ὁμοίῳ μένουσιν αἱ γνώμαι τῶν μεγάλων, αἱ δὲ σὺν ὀργῇ καὶ τάχιστα κάμνουσι. διαβεβλήμεθα, τὰς διαβολὰς ἐπίτρεψον
- 242 ἰάσασθαι· ἀκρίτους καταγνωσθῆναι χαλεπὸν. ἐὰν δὲ μὴ πείσωμεν, τί λοιπὸν ἐμποδὼν ἐστίν [ἢ]
- [582] ταῦτα ἃ καὶ | νῦν διανοῇ πράττειν; ἕως οὐ πρεσβεύμεθα, μὴ ἀποκόψῃς τὰς ἀμείνους ἐλπίδας μυριάδων τοσούτων, αἷς οὐχ ὑπὲρ κέρδους ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ εὐσεβείας ἐστὶν ἡ σπουδὴ. καίτοι γε ἡμάρτομεν τοῦτο εἰπόντες· τί γὰρ ἂν εἴη κέρδος λυσιτελέστερον ὁσιότητος ἀνθρώποις;
- 243 XXXIII. Ταῦτα δὲ διεξήεσαν ὑπ' ἀγωνίας καὶ περιπαθήσεως ἄσθματι πολλῷ, κεκομμένῳ τῷ

¹ MSS. πέτρον.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 238-243

statue being carried in procession to the temple, they would not be transformed to stone, their joints stiffened and their eyes likewise so that they could not even move, and their whole body in each part of its system changed from its natural motions? Our final prayer, the justest of all, Petronius, will 239 be this. We do not say that you are not bound to do as you are bidden but we add to our supplications a request for a respite so that we may choose a body of envoys and send them to seek an interview with our lord. It may be that by this 240 mission we shall persuade him, pleading in full either the honour due to God or the preservation of our laws undestroyed, or our right to be no worse treated than all the nations, even those in the uttermost regions, who have had their ancestral institutions maintained, or the decisions of his grandfather and great-grandfather in which they ratified our customs with all respect for them. Per- 241 haps when he hears this he will be softened. The judgements of the great do not remain unchanged; if they have been made in anger they soonest lose their strength. We have been slandered, permit us to purge the slanders; it is a grievous thing to be condemned untried. But if we fail to persuade him 242 what remains to hinder you from carrying out your present intention? Wait till we have sent our embassy before you cut away their hopes for better things from all these myriads whose zeal is for their religion and not for gain. And yet we err when we say this, for what more profitable gain can men have than holiness?"

XXXIII. This appeal was made in great agitation 243 and intense emotion accompanied with much gasping

- πνεύματι, ρεόμενοι κατὰ τῶν μελῶν ἀπάντων ἰδρῶτι, μετὰ φορᾶς ἀπαύστων δακρύνων, ὡς ἤδη συναλγεῖν τοὺς ἀκούοντας καὶ τὸν Πετρώνιον—ἦν γὰρ καὶ τὴν φύσιν εὐμενῆς καὶ ἡμερος—ὑπὸ τῶν λεχθέντων καὶ ὀρωμένων συνηρπάσθαι· ἐδόκει γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα εἶναι δικαιοτάτα καὶ οἰκτρά
- 244 τις ἢ τῶν ὀρωμένων περιπάθησις. ἐπεξαναστὰς δὲ μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων ἐβουλεύετο τὰ πρακτέα καὶ ἑώρα τοὺς μὲν πρὸ μικροῦ παντάπασιν ἐναντιουμένους ἐπαμφοτερίζοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἐνδοιαστὰς ἐπιρρέποντας ἤδη τῷ πλείονι μέρει πρὸς ἔλεον· ἐφ’ οἷς ἤδετο, καίτοι τὴν φύσιν εἰδὼς τοῦ προεστῶτος καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἀπαραίτητος ὀργήν.
- 245 ἀλλ’ εἶχε τινα καὶ αὐτός, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐναύσματα τῆς Ἰουδαϊκῆς φιλοσοφίας ἅμα καὶ εὐσεβείας, εἴτε καὶ πάλαι προμαθὼν ἕνεκα τῆς περὶ παιδείαν σπουδῆς εἴτε καὶ ἀφ’ οὗ τῶν χώρων ἐπετρόπευσεν, ἐν οἷς Ἰουδαῖοι καθ’ ἐκάστην πόλιν εἰσὶ παμπληθεῖς, Ἀσίας τε καὶ Συρίας, εἴτε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω διατεθεὶς αὐτηκόῳ καὶ αὐτοκελεύστῳ καὶ αὐτομαθεῖ τινι πρὸς τὰ σπουδῆς ἄξια φύσει. τοῖς δὲ ἀγαθοῖς ἀγαθὰς ὑπηχεῖν ἔοικε γνώμας ὁ θεός, δι’ ὧν ὠφελοῦντες ὠφελήθησονται· ὅπερ καὶ κείνῳ
- 246 συνέβη. τίνες οὖν ἦσαν αἱ γνώμαι; μὴ κατεπείγειν τοὺς δημιουργούς, ἀλλ’ ἀναπεύθειν εὖ τετεχνιτευμένον ἀπεργάσασθαι τὸν ἀνδριάντα, στοχαζομένους καθ’ ὅσον ἂν οἷόν τε ἢ μὴ ἀπολειφθῆναι τῶν διωνομασμένων ἀρχετύπων εἰς πλείονος χρόνου μῆκος, ἐπειδὴ τὰ μὲν αὐτοσχέδια φιλεῖ

^a Or “suggests.” For Philo’s frequent use of ὑπηχεῖν, generally carrying with it the idea of a voice heard in—
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THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 243-246

and spasmodic breathing, the sweat streaming over every limb amid a flood of ceaseless tears, so that by now their hearers shared their sorrow, and Petronius who was naturally kindly was quite carried away both by what he heard and what he saw. For he felt that what they said was very just and that the emotion displayed in what he saw was worthy of pity. He rose and retiring deliberated with his 244 fellow-councillors on the course to be taken. He saw that those who had just before been entirely opposed to the Jews were wavering, and that the doubters had thrown most of their weight into the scale of mercy. This pleased him though he knew the nature of his chief and how implacable was his anger. Indeed 245 it appears that he himself had some rudiments of Jewish philosophy and religion acquired either in early lessons in the past through his zeal for culture or after his appointment as governor in the countries where the Jews are very numerous in every city, Asia and Syria, or else because his soul was so disposed, being drawn to things worthy of serious effort by a nature which listened to no voice nor dictation nor teaching but its own. But we find that to good men God whispers ^a good decisions by which they will give and receive benefits, and this was true in his case. What then were his decisions? He would not press 246 the craftsmen but would urge them to perfect the statue with good artistry and aim as far as possible to take a long time to reach the standard of the widely known exemplars, since work, if perfunctory, is gen-

wardly, often as here the divine voice, see note on *De Som.* i. 164 (vol. v. p. 601). The complete omission of this usage in L. & S., which was remarked on in that note, has since been rectified in the revised edition.

πως ἐπιτέμεσθαι, τὰ δὲ σὺν πόνῳ καὶ ἐπιστήμῃ
 247 μῆκος χρόνων ἐπιζητεῖν. ἦν ἡτήσαντο πρεσβείαν,
 οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν· ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι. τοῖς βου-
 λομένοις ἐπὶ τὸν πάντων ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην
 ἐκκαλεῖσθαι τὰ πράγματα μὴ ἐναντιοῦσθαι. τῷ
 248 πλήθει μήτε ὁμολογεῖν μήτε ἀρνεῖσθαι· ἐκάτερον
 [583] γὰρ φέρειν κίνδυνον. ἐπιστέλλειν | Γαῖῳ μὴδὲν
 μὲν τῶν Ἰουδαίων κατηγοροῦντα, μὴ δηλοῦντα δὲ
 ἐπ' ἀληθείας τὰς ἱκετείας καὶ ἀντιβολίας αὐτῶν,
 καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν βραδυτῆτος αἰτιᾶσθαι
 τὸ μὲν τι τὴν κατασκευὴν χρόνου μεμετρημένου
 δεομένην, τὸ δέ τι καὶ τὸν καιρὸν διδόντα μεγάλας
 ἀφορμὰς εἰς ἀναβολὴν εὐλόγους, αἷς συναινέσειν
 249 οὐκ ἴσως ἀλλ' ἀναγκαίως καὶ αὐτὸν Γάιον. ἐν
 ἀκμῇ μὲν γὰρ τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν εἶναι καὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων ὅσα σπαρτά, δεδιέναι δὲ μὴ κατ' ἀπόγνωσιν
 τῶν πατρίων ἀνθρωποι καὶ τοῦ ζῆν καταφρονοῦντες
 ἢ δηλώσωσι τὰς ἀρούρας ἢ ἐμπρήσωσι τὴν σταχυ-
 φόρον ὀρεινὴν καὶ πεδιάδα, φυλακῆς δὲ χρήζειν
 εἰς ἐπιμελεστέραν τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδὴν, οὐ
 μόνον τῶν σπειρομένων ἀλλὰ καὶ ὧν ἡ δενδροφόρος
 250 παρέχει. διεγνώκει¹ μὲν γάρ, ὥς λόγος, πλεῖν εἰς
 Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ, πελάγει δὲ οὐκ
 ἀξιῶσι τοσοῦτος ἡγεμὼν διὰ τε τοὺς κινδύνους
 καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ παραπέμποντος στόλου καὶ
 ἅμα διὰ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τοῦ σώματος, ἃ δὴ πάντα
 γίνεται ῥαδίως τὸν δι' Ἀσίας καὶ Συρίας κύκλον
 251 περαιουμένῳ· δυνήσεται γὰρ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν
 καὶ πλεῖν καὶ ἀποβαίνειν, καὶ μάλιστα τὰς πλείστας
 ναῦς ἐπαγόμενος μακράς, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὀλκάδας, αἷς
 ὁ παρὰ γῆν πλοῦς ἀνυσιμώτερος, ὥς ταῖς φορτίσι

¹ MSS. διέγνωκα μὲν.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 246-251

erally short-lived and to have it executed with pains and knowledge requires a long time. He would 247 not grant their request for an embassy. It was not safe. He would not oppose those who wished to lay the matter before the ruler and master of them all, but to the general multitude he would express neither assent nor denial, as both were dangerous. He would send to Gaius a letter in 248 which, without accusing the Jews or giving a candid account of their prayers and entreaties, he would charge the delay in the installation partly to the work requiring a definite allowance of time for the construction, partly to the season, which gave strong grounds for delay, the reasonableness of which Gaius himself not only might but necessarily must admit. For the wheat crop was just ripe and 249 so were the other cereals, and he feared that the Jews in despair for their ancestral rites and in scorn of life might lay waste the arable land or set fire to the cornlands on the hills and the plain. He needed a guard to insure more vigilance in gathering the fruits not only of the cornfields but also those provided by the orchards. For Gaius had deter- 250 mined, they were told, to sail to Alexandria by Egypt, but so great a potentate would not think it right to go by the open sea because of the dangers and the numbers of ships required for a convoy, and also the need of providing for his bodily comfort, all which ends are easily obtained by taking the circuitous route along Asia and Syria. For he would be able every 251 day to combine the voyage with landing, particularly as most of the vessels which he would take would be not merchant ships but warships for which coasting is more feasible, just as an open sea voyage is for

252 διὰ πελάγους ἐστίν. ἀναγκαῖον οὖν καὶ χιλὸν κτήνεσι καὶ τροφὰς ἀφθόρους ἐν ἀπάσαις ταῖς Συριακαῖς πόλεσιν εὐτρεπίσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ταῖς παράλοις. ἀφίξεται γὰρ παμπληθὴς ὄχλος καὶ διὰ γῆς καὶ διὰ θαλάττης, οὐ μόνον ἀπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας ἀναστάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐξῆς ἄχρι Συρίας ἐπικρατειῶν ἐπηκολουθηκώς, ὁ μὲν τῶν ἐν τέλει, ὁ δὲ στρατιωτικός, ἱππέων, πεζῶν, τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσίν, ὁ δὲ οἰκετικὸς οὐκ ἀποδέων τοῦ

253 στρατιωτικοῦ. δεῖ δὲ χορηγιῶν οὐ πρὸς τὰ ἀναγκαῖα συμμεμετρημένων αὐτὸ¹ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς περιττὴν δαψίλειαν, ἣν ἐπιζητεῖ Γάιος. τούτοις ἂν ἐντύχη τοῖς γράμμασιν, ἴσως πρὸς τῷ μὴ δυσχερᾶναι καὶ τῆς προνοίας ἡμᾶς ἀποδέξεται ὡς ποιησαμένους τὴν ὑπέρθεσιν, οὐ χάριτι τῇ τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλ' ἐνεκα τῆς τῶν καρπῶν συγκομιδῆς.

254 XXXIV. Ἀποδεξαμένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν τῶν συνέδρων, κελεύει γράφεσθαι τὰς ἐπιστολάς καὶ ἐχειροτόνει τοὺς διακομιοῦντας ἄνδρας εὐζώνους, ἐθάδας δὲ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ὁδοιπορίας ἐπιτομῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦκοντες ἀνέδοσαν τὰς ἐπιστολάς, ὁ

[584] δ' ἔτι μὲν ἀναγνώσκων διώδει | καὶ μεστὸς ἦν

255 ὀργῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστῳ σημειούμενος· ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο, συνεκρότει τὰς χεῖρας “εὖ, Πετρώνιε,” φάσκων, “οὐκ ἔμαθες ἀκούειν αὐτοκράτορος· αἱ ἐπάλληλοί σε ἄρχαι πεφυσήκασιν· ἄχρι τοῦ παρόντος οὐδὲ ἀκοῇ γνωρίζειν μοι δοκεῖς Γάιον, οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν

256 αὐτοῦ πείραν ἔξεις. μέλει μὲν γάρ σοι τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν νομίμων, ἐχθίστου μοι ἔθνους, ἀλογεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄρχοντος ἡγεμονικῶν προστάξεων. ἐφοβήθης τὸ πλῆθος· εἴτα οὐ παρήσαν αἱ στρα-

¹ MSS. αὐτῷ.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 251-256

cargo boats. It would be necessary therefore to have 252
fodder for the beasts and a vast stock of food got
ready in all the cities of Syria, particularly on the
coast. For a huge crowd would come both by sea
and by land, drawn not only from Rome itself and
Italy, but also from the successive provinces right up
to Syria, a crowd composed partly of persons of high
rank, partly of soldiers, infantry and cavalry and
marines, while the multitude of servants would be
not less than the military. Supplies were needed 253
calculated not merely for absolute necessities but for
the excessive expenditure which Gaius demanded.
If he reads this letter, thought Petronius, he will pro-
bably not merely refrain from anger but approve
our forethought, recognizing that the postponement
which we have made is not due to favouritism to the
Jews but in order to insure the carrying of the harvest.

XXXIV. As his fellow-councillors approved of his 254
policy he ordered the letters to be written, and
appointed to carry them persons who were active
travellers and also knew how to make short cuts in
their journey. When they arrived they delivered the
letter, but Gaius while he was still reading was fuming
and was filled with wrath as he noted each point.
When he stopped reading he smote his hands together 255
and said, " Good, Petronius, you have not learnt to
hearken to an emperor ; your successive offices have
puffed you with pride. Up to this time you seem to
have no knowledge of Gaius even by report ; you will
soon know him by actual experience. You concern 256
yourself with the institutions of the Jews, the nation
which is my worst enemy ; you disregard the imperial
commands of your sovereign. You feared their great
numbers. Then had you not with you the military

- τιωτικαὶ δυνάμεις, ὥς δέδιδεν ἔθνη τὰ ἑῷα καὶ
 257 ἡγεμόνες αὐτῶν Παρθυαῖοι; ἀλλ' ἡλέησας· εἶτα
 οἰκτῶ μᾶλλον ἐνέδωκας ἢ Γαῖω; προφασίζου
 νῦν ἄμνητον, τὸν ἀπροφάσιστον οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
 ἐνδεξόμενος αὐτὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ· συγκομιδὴν αἰτιῶ
 καρπῶν καὶ τὰς εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄφιξιν παρα-
 σκευάς· εἰ γὰρ ἀφορία παντελὴς ἐπέσχε τὴν Ἰου-
 δαίαν, οὐκ ἦσαν αἱ πλησιόχωροι τοσαῦται καὶ
 οὕτως εὐδαίμονες ἱκαναὶ χορηγεῖν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια
 258 καὶ τὴν μῖα ἔνδειαν ἀναπληρῶσαι; ἀλλὰ τί
 προανίσταμαι τῶν χειρῶν; τί δέ μου τῆς γνώμης
 προαισθάνονται τινες; ὁ μέλλων τὰ ἐπίχειρα
 καρποῦσθαι γινωσκέτω πρῶτος ἐξ ὧν ἂν πάθῃ.
 παύομαι λέγων, φρονῶν δὲ οὐ παύσομαι.”
- 259 καὶ μικρὸν ὅσον ἐπισχῶν τινι τῶν πρὸς ταῖς ἐπι-
 στολαῖς ὑπέβαλε τὰς πρὸς Πιτρώνιον ἀποκρίσεις,
 ἐπαινῶν αὐτὸν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν εἰς τὸ προμηθὲς καὶ
 τὴν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀκριβῆ περίσκεψιν· σφόδρα γὰρ
 τοὺς ἐν ἡγεμονίαις εὐλαβεῖτο τὰς πρὸς νεωτερο-
 ποιᾶν ἀφορμὰς ὁρῶν ἔχοντας ἐν ἐτοιμῳ, καὶ
 μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις καὶ μεγάλοις ἐπι-
 τάττοντας στρατοπέδοις, ἡλίκα τὰ πρὸς Εὐφράτη
 260 κατὰ Συρίαν ἐστίν. θεραπεύων οὖν τοῖς ὀνόμασι
 καὶ γράμμασιν ἄχρι καιροῦ τὸ ἔγκοτον ἐπεσκίαζε
 βαρύνῃσι ὧν. εἶτα ἐπὶ πᾶσι γράφει κελεύων
 μηδενὸς οὕτω φροντίζειν ἢ τοῦ θάπτον ἀνατεθῆναι
 τὸν ἀνδριάντα· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη τὰ θέρη, τὴν εἶτε
 πιθανὴν εἶτε ἀληθῆ πρόφασιν, συγκεκομίσθαι δύ-
 νασθαι.
- 261 XXXV. Μετ' οὐ πολὺ μέντοι παρῆν Ἀγρίππας
 ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀσπασόμενος Γάιον.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 256-261

forces which are feared by the nations of the east and their rulers the Parthians? Oh but you had 257 compassion! Then did pity weigh more than Gaius with you? Go on, plead the harvest as your pretext; the harvest for which no pretext will avail will soon be visited on your own head. Yes, lay the blame on the ingathering of the fruits and the preparations needed for our journey. Why, even if complete barrenness reigned in Judaea were not the neighbouring countries so many and so prosperous capable of providing the necessaries and compensating the deficiency in one? But why should I not sit still till 258 my hands get to work? why should any people know my intentions beforehand? he who is to reap the reward, let him know of it before others through personal experience. I stop speaking, but I shall not stop thinking."

After waiting a short 259 time he gave one of his secretaries instructions about answering Petronius. In these he seemingly praised him for his forethought and his careful exploration of future requirements. For he greatly feared the holders of governorships, he saw that they had resources ready for an uprising, particularly those who had large provinces and commanded large armies of the size of those in Syria on the Euphrates. So his 260 language and letters were ingratiating, and though furiously angry he disguised his rancour waiting for an opportunity. Then he concluded his letter by bidding him interest himself in nothing so much as in hastening the installation of the statue, since the harvest which he alleged as an excuse, whether truly or plausibly, could already have been carried.

XXXV. Not long afterwards King Agrippa ap- 261 peared to pay his wonted respects to Gaius. Now he

- ἦδει δὲ ἀπλῶς οὐδὲν οὔτε ὦν ἐπεστάλκει ὁ Πε-
 τρώνιος οὔτε ὦν ὁ Γάιος ἢ πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον·
 ἔτεκμαίρετο μέντοι διὰ τῆς οὐκ ἐν τάξει κινή-
 σεως καὶ τῆς τῶν ὀμμάτων ταραχῆς ὑποτυφομένην
 ὀργὴν καὶ ἀνεσκόπει καὶ διηρεῖνα ἑαυτὸν πάντῃ
 καὶ πρὸς πάντα μικρά τε αὐ καὶ μεγάλα τὸν λογι-
 σμὸν ἀποτείνων, μὴ τι δέδρακεν ἢ εἶπεν ὦν οὐ χρή.
 262 ὥς δὲ συνόλως οὐδὲν εὑρίσκειν, ἐτόπασεν, ὅπερ ἦν
 εἰκός, ἐτέροις τισὶ πικραίνεισθαι. πάλιν δὲ ὅτε
 ὑποβλεπόμενον εἶδε καὶ τετακότα τὰς ὄψεις πρὸς
 μηδένα τῶν παρόντων ἢ μόνον ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἐδεδίει |
 [585] καὶ πολλάκις ἐρέσθαι διανοηθεὶς ἐπέσχε, τοιοῦτον
 λαμβάνων λογισμὸν. “ἴσως τὴν ἀπειλὴν πρὸς
 ἐτέρους οὖσαν αὐτὸς ἔλξω περιεργίας ὁμοῦ καὶ
 προπετείας καὶ θράσους ὑπόληψιν ἐξενεγκάμενος.”
 263 ἐπτοημένον δ' οὖν καὶ ἀποροῦντα θεασάμενος
 αὐτὸν Γάιος—ἦν γὰρ δεινὸς ἐκ τῆς φανεράς ὄψεως
 ἀφανὲς ἀνθρώπου βούλημα καὶ πάθος συνιδεῖν—
 “ἀπορεῖς,” εἶπεν “Ἀγρίππα; παύσω σε τῆς
 264 ἀπορίας. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν μοι χρόνον συνδιατρίψας
 ἠγνόησας, ὅτι οὐ τῇ φωνῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς
 ὄμμασι φθέγγομαι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον ἕκαστα
 265 διασημαίνων; οἱ καλοὶ σου καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πολῖται,
 παρ' οἷς μόνοις ἐξ ἅπαντος ἀνθρώπων γένους θεὸς
 οὐ νομίζεται Γάιος, ἦδη μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ θανατᾶν
 ἀφηνιάζοντες· ἐμοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ Διὸς
 ἀνδριάντα ἀνατεθῆναι, πανδημεὶ συνταξάμενοι τῆς
 πόλεως καὶ τῆς χώρας ὑπεξῆλθον, πρόφασιν ἱκε-
 τεύσοντες, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς ἐναντία τοῖς προστεταγ-
 266 μένοις ἐργασόμενοι.” μέλλοντος δὲ προσεπιφέρειν
 ἕτερα, ὑπ' ἀγωνίας παντοδαπὰς χροῶς ἐνήλλαττεν

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 261-266

knew absolutely nothing about the contents of the letter sent by Petronius or of those written earlier and later by Gaius. He judged however by his irregular movements and the disturbance shown in his eyes that anger was smouldering beneath, and he examined and searched himself in every way, setting his reason to work in every direction and on every possibility small or great, to see whether he had done or said something which he should not. But when he could 262 find nothing at all he conjectured naturally enough that Gaius was exasperated by some other persons, but again when he saw him frowning and that his eyes had been fixed on no one else in the company but himself alone, he was frightened and though he was often minded to question him he forbore, reasoning thus: "Perhaps I shall draw upon myself the menace directed to others and have officiousness, rashness and effrontery imputed to me." Gaius, who 263 was skilled in discerning a man's secret wishes and feelings from his open countenance, observed his agitation and perplexity and said, "You are perplexed, Agrippa, I will release you from your perplexity. Have you sojourned with me all this time and 264 not learnt that I speak not only with my voice but quite as much with my eyes in every intimation that I make? Your excellent and worthy fellow-citizens, 265 who alone of every race of men do not acknowledge Gaius as a god, appear to be courting even death by their recalcitrance. When I ordered a statue of Zeus to be set up in the temple they marshalled their whole population and issued forth from the city and country nominally to make a petition but actually to counteract my orders." He was about to add 266 further charges when Agrippa in deep distress turned

- ἐν ταύτῳ γινόμενος αἰμωπός, ὠχρός, πελιδνός.
 267 ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἄκρας ἄχρι ποδῶν φρίκη
 κατέσχητο, τρόμος τε καὶ σεισμός πάντα αὐτοῦ
 τὰ μέρη καὶ τὰ μέλη συνεκύκα, χαλωμένων τε
 καὶ ἀνιεμένων τῶν σωματικῶν τόνων περὶ ἑαυτῷ
 κατέρρει καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα παρεθεῖς μικροῦ κατ-
 έπεσεν, εἰ μὴ τῶν παρεστώτων τινὲς ὑπέλαβον
 αὐτόν· καὶ κελευσθέντες φοράδην οἴκαδε κομίζουσιν
 οὐδενὸς συναισθανόμενον ὑπὸ κάρου τῶν ἀθρόων
 268 κατασκηψάντων κακῶν. ὁ μὲν οὖν Γάιος
 ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετραχύνθη τὸ κατὰ τοῦ ἔθνους μῖσος
 ἐπιτείνων· “εἰ γὰρ Ἀγρίππας,” ἔφασκεν, “ὁ
 συνηθέστατος καὶ φίλτατος καὶ τοσαύταις ἐνδε-
 δεμένος εὐεργεσίαις ἡττηται τῶν ἐθῶν, ὥς μηδὲ
 ἀκοὴν ἀνέχεσθαι τὴν κατ’ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ’ ὑπ’ ἐκλύ-
 σεως μικροῦ καὶ τελευτῆσαι, τί χρή περὶ τῶν
 ἄλλων προσδοκᾶν, οἷς μηδεμία πρόσσεστιν ὁλκὸς
 269 δύναμις εἰς τοῦναντίον;” ὁ δὲ Ἀγρίππας τὴν
 μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον μέρος τῆς
 ὑστεραίας ὑπὸ κάρου πιεσθεὶς βαθέος οὐδὲν ἐγνώ-
 ριζε τῶν ὄντων, περὶ δὲ δειλὴν ἐσπέραν μικρὸν
 ὅσον τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπάρας καὶ βεβαρημένους τοὺς
 ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐπὶ βραχὺ μόλις διοίξας ἀμαυραῖς καὶ
 ἀχλυῶδεσι ταῖς ὄψεσι τοὺς ἐν κύκλῳ παρεθεᾶτο,
 μήπω γνωρίζειν δυνάμενος ἐπ’ ἀκριβὲς τὰς ἐκά-
 270 στων ἰδέας. πάλιν δὲ ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ὕπνον ἡρέμει
 τῆς προτέρας ὑγιεινότερα καταστάσει χρώμενος,
 ὥς ἐνῆν ἔκ τε τῆς ἀναπνοῆς καὶ ἔκ τῆς περὶ τὸ
 [586] σῶμα σχέσεως τεκμήρασθαι. | περιαναστὰς δὲ
 271 ὕστερον ἐπυνθάνετο· “ποῦ τὰ νῦν εἰμι; μήτι
 παρὰ Γαῖω; μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς πάρεστιν ὁ δεσπότης;”
 ἀποκριναμένων δέ· “θάρρει, παρὰ σαντῷ διατρί-
 136

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to every kind of colour, blood-red, dead pale and livid all in a moment. And by now from the crown of his 267 head to his feet he was mastered by a fit of shuddering, every part and every limb convulsed with trembling and palpitation. With his nervous system relaxed and unbraced he was in a state of utter collapse, and finally thus paralysed was on the point of falling. But some of the bystanders caught him and, when ordered to bring him home, took him thither on a stretcher, quite unconscious in his coma of the mass of troubles which had fallen upon him.

Gaius indeed was still more ex- 268 asperated and pushed his hatred of the nation still further. "If Agrippa," he said, "who is my dearest and most familiar friend and bound to me by so many benefactions, is so under the dominion of its customs that he cannot even bear to hear a word against them and is prostrated almost to the point of death, what must we expect of the others who are not under the influence of any counter-acting force?" On the other hand Agrippa for the first 269 day and the greater part of the next lay sunk in profound coma and knew nothing of what went on. But about the late afternoon he lifted his head slightly and just managed to open his eyes a little, weary as they were, and with their dim and misty vision cast a half look on those around him, unable as yet to distinguish clearly their several forms. Then again 270 he dropped off into sleep and rested quietly in a healthier condition than before, as far as could be judged from his revival and the state of his body. Afterwards he woke up and asked, "Where am I 271 now? At Gaius's? is my lord also present?" They replied, "Cheer up, you are staying in your

- 272 βεις, Γάιος οὐ πάρεστιν· ἱκανῶς ἡρέμησας (ὑπενεχ-
 θείς) εἰς ὕπνον· ἀλλ' ἐπιστραφεὶς καὶ μετεωρίσας
 σαυτὸν τὸν ἀγκῶνα πῆξον, γνώρισον τοὺς παρόν-
 τας· ἴδιοι πάντες εἰσὶ, φίλων καὶ ἀπελευθέρων καὶ
 οἰκετῶν οἱ μάλιστα τιμῶντες καὶ ἀντιτιμώμενοι”
- 273 —ὁ δὲ—νήφειν γὰρ ἤρχετο—καθεώρα τὸ παρ' ἐκά-
 στῳ συμπαθές· καὶ κελευσάντων τοὺς πολλοὺς
 μεταστῆναι τῶν ἰατρῶν, ἵνα δι' ἀλειμμάτων καὶ
- 274 τροφῆς καιρίου τὸ σωματίον ἀνακτήσωνται, “ πάνν
 γάρ,” εἶπε, “ φροντιστέον ὑμῖν ἐπιμελεστέρας τῆς
 εἰς ἐμὲ διαίτης; οὐ γὰρ ἐξαρκεῖ μοι τῷ βαρυδαί-
 μονι λιμὸν ἀκέσασθαι διὰ ψιλῆς καὶ εἰς εὐτέλειαν
 ἀπηκριβωμένης τῆς τῶν ἀναγκαίων χρήσεως; οὐδ'
 αὐτὰ δὴ ταῦτα προσηκάμην ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἔνεκα τε-
 λευταίας βοηθείας, ἣν ὄνειροπολεῖ μου ἡ διάνοια
- 275 τῷ τάλαιπῶρῳ ἔθνει παρασχεῖν.” καὶ ὁ μὲν
 δεδακρυμένος καὶ ἀναγκοφαγῶν δίχα προσοψή-
 ματος οὐδὲ κράματος προσενεχθέντος ἡνέσχετο,
 ἀλλ' ὕδατος ἀπογευσάμενος, “ ἀπέχει¹ μὲν,” εἶπεν,
 “ ἡ τάλαινα γαστήρ ὃ ἀπήτει δάνειον· ἐμοὶ δὲ
 τί προσήκει ποιεῖν ἢ δεῖσθαι Γαῖου περὶ τῶν
 ἐνεστώτων;”
- 276 XXXVI. Καὶ δέλτον λαβὼν ταῦτα ἐπιστέλλει·
 “ τὴν μὲν κατ' ὄψιν ἔντευξιν, ᾧ δέσποτα, φόβος
 με καὶ αἰδῶς ἀφείλαντο, ὁ μὲν ἀπειλήν ἐκτρεπό-
 μενος, ἡ δὲ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ περὶ σέ ἀξιώματος

¹ Reiter prints *ἐπέχει* from A only. I do not understand why, for *ἀπέχω* in the sense of “ receive in full ” is well known, e.g., St. Matth. vi. 2. No such sense is cited for *ἐπέχω*.

^a For the medical use of *σωμάτιον* for a sick man's body under treatment see examples in L. & S. revised.

^b *πάνν* may be regarded as introducing a question, or an

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own house ; Gaius is not here ; you got a good rest 272
when you fell asleep ; now turn round, lift yourself
up, lean upon your elbow and recognize the com-
pany present. They are all your own people, those
of your friends and freedmen and servants who most
value you and are valued by you." He was begin- 273
ning to come to his sober senses and observed the
sympathy shown by all, and when the physicians told
most of them to leave the room so that they might
restore their patient ^a with unguents and suitable
nourishment he said, " The idea of troubling your- 274
selves to give me a more elaborate diet ! ^b Isn't it
enough for me, ill-fated wretch that I am, to assuage
hunger merely with the use of bare necessities care-
fully calculated to maintain economy ?—and even
these I would not have accepted save to insure the
last remaining help which it is the dream of my
heart to give to the unhappy nation." Tearfully he 275
forced himself to swallow some food without any-
thing to season it, and even refused the offer of
a mixed drink, and merely took a taste of water
instead. " The belly," he said, " poor creature,
has been paid in full the debt which it claimed.
What should I now do but make my petition to Gaius
about the present situation ? "

XXXVI. He took a tablet and wrote to him as 276
follows : " My opportunity, my master, of interced-
ing with you face to face has been lost through
fear and reverend shame, fear which could not
confront the menace, reverence which struck me
dumb before the greatness of your dignity. But

ironical affirmation. In either case the sentence indicates a
strong repudiation, though no example of any such use is
given in Stephanus or L. & S.

- καταπλήττουσα· γραφή δὲ μηνύσει μου τὴν δέησιν,
 277 ἣν ἀνθ' ἱκετηρίας προτείνω. πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις,
 αὐτοκράτορ, ἐμπέφυκεν ἔρως μὲν τῆς πατρίδος,
 τῶν δὲ οἰκείων νόμων ἀποδοχή· καὶ περὶ τούτων
 οὐδεμιᾶς ἐστὶ σοι χρεῖα διδασκαλίας, ἐκθύμως μὲν
 στέργοντι τὴν πατρίδα, ἐκθύμως δὲ τὰ πάτρια
 τιμῶντι. καλὰ δὲ ἐκάστοις, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀλή-
 θειάν ἐστι, διαφαίνεται τὰ οἰκεία· κρίνουσι γὰρ
 αὐτὰ οὐ λογισμῷ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ τῆς εὐνοίας πάθει.
- 278 γεγέννημαι μὲν, ὡς οἶδας, Ἰουδαῖος· ἔστι δέ μοι
 Ἱεροσόλυμα πατρίς, ἐν ᾗ ὁ τοῦ ὑψίστου θεοῦ νεὼς
 ἅγιος ἱδρυταί· πάππων δὲ καὶ προγόνων βασιλέων
 ἔλαχον, ὧν οἱ πλείους ἐλέγοντο ἀρχιερεῖς, τὴν
 βασιλείαν τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐν δευτέρᾳ τάξει τιθέμενοι
 καὶ νομίζοντες, ὅσῳ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων διαφέρει κατὰ
 τὸ κρεῖττον, τοσούτῳ καὶ βασιλείας ἀρχιερωσύνην¹.
 τὴν μὲν γὰρ εἶναι θεοῦ θεραπείαν, τὴν δὲ ἐπιμέλειαν
 279 ἀνθρώπων. ἔθνει δὴ τοιούτῳ προσκεκληρωμένος
 καὶ πατρίδι καὶ ἱερῷ δέομαι ὑπὲρ πάντων· τοῦ
 μὲν ἔθνους, ἵνα μὴ τὴν ἐναντίαν δόξαν ἐνέγκηται
 τῆς ἀληθείας, εὐσεβέστατα καὶ ὀσιώτατα διακεί-
 [587] μενον | ἐξ ἀρχῆς πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον·
 280 ἐν οἷς γὰρ ἐφέειται καὶ ἕξεστι μετὰ νόμων εὐσεβεῖν,
 οὐδενὸς οὔτε τῶν Ἀσιανῶν οὔτε τῶν ἐν Εὐρώπῃ
 λείπεται τὸ παράπαν, εὐχαῖς, ἀναθημάτων κατα-
 σκευαῖς, πλήθει θυσιῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς κατὰ
 τὰς δημοτελεῖς ἑορταῖς ἀναγομέναις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν
 ταῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐντελεχέσιν· ἐξ ὧν οὐ
 στόματι καὶ γλώσσει μηνύουσι τὸ εὐσεβὲς μᾶλλον

¹ MSS. ἀρχιερωσύνη.

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my handwriting will declare to you the petition which I put forward instead of the suppliant's olive branch. All men, my emperor, have planted in 277 them a passionate love of their native land and a high esteem for their own laws; and on this there is no need to instruct you, who love your native city as ardently as you honour your own customs. Every people is convinced of the excellence of its own institutions, even if they are not really excellent, for they judge them not so much by their reasoning as by the affection which they feel for them. I as you know am by birth a Jew, and my 278 native city is Jerusalem in which is situated the sacred shrine of the most high God. It fell to me to have for my grandparents and ancestors kings, most of whom had the title of high priest, who considered their kingship inferior to the priesthood, holding that the office of high priest is as superior in excellence to that of king as God surpasses men. For the office of one is to worship God, of the other to have charge of men. As my lot is 279 cast in such a nation, city and temple I beseech you for them all. For the nation, that it may not get a reputation the reverse of the truth, when from the very first it has been so piously and religiously disposed to all your house. For in all 280 matters in which piety is enjoined and permitted under the laws it stood not a whit behind any other either in Asia or in Europe, in its prayers, its erection of votive offerings, its number of sacrifices, not only of those offered at general national feasts but in the perpetual and daily rites through which is declared their piety, not so much with mouth and tongue as in intentions formed in the secrecy of the soul by those

ἡ ψυχῆς ἀφανοῦς βουλευμασιν οἱ μὴ λέγοντες, ὅτι φιλοκαίσαρές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντες ὄντως.

- 281 περὶ δὲ τῆς ἱεροπόλεως τὰ προσήκοντά μοι λεκτέον· αὕτη, καθάπερ ἔφην, ἐμὴ μὲν ἐστὶ πατρίς, μητρόπολις δὲ οὐ μιᾶς χώρας Ἰουδαίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν πλείστων, διὰ τὰς ἀποικίας ἃς ἐξέπεμψεν ἐπὶ καιρῶν εἰς μὲν τὰς ὁμόρους, Αἴγυπτον, Φοινίκην, Συρίαν τὴν τε ἄλλην καὶ τὴν Κοίλην προσαγορευομένην, εἰς δὲ τὰς πόρρω διωκισμένας, Παμφυλίαν, Κιλικίαν, τὰ πολλὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἄχρι Βιθυνίας καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου μυχῶν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ εἰς Εὐρώπην, Θερραλίαν, Βοιωτίαν, Μακεδονίαν, Αἰτωλίαν, τὴν Ἀττικὴν, Ἄργος, Κόρινθον, τὰ
- 282 πλείστα καὶ ἄριστα Πελοποννήσου. καὶ οὐ μόνον αἱ ἡπειροὶ μεσταὶ τῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀποικιῶν εἰσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ νήσων αἱ δοκιμώταται, Εὐβοία, Κύπρος, Κρήτη. καὶ σιωπῶ τὰς πέραν Εὐφράτου· πᾶσαι γὰρ ἔξω μέρους βραχέος, Βαβυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σατραπειῶν αἱ ἀρετῶσαν ἔχουσαι τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ
- 283 γῇν Ἰουδαίους ἔχουσιν οἰκήτορας. ὥστ' ἐὰν μεταλάβῃ σου τῆς εὐμενείας ἢ ἐμὴ πατρίς, οὐ μία πόλις ἀλλὰ καὶ μυρίαὶ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργετοῦνται καθ' ἕκαστον κλίμα τῆς οἰκουμένης ἰδρυθεῖσαι, τὸ Εὐρωπαϊόν, τὸ Ἀσιανόν, τὸ Λιβυκόν, τὸ ἐν ἡπείροις, τὸ ἐν νήσοις, πάραλόν τε καὶ μεσόγειον.
- 284 ἀρμόττει δέ σου τῷ μεγέθει τῆς τοσαύτης τύχης διὰ τῶν εἰς μίαν πόλιν εὐεργεσιῶν μυρίας ἄλλας συνευεργετεῖν, ὅπως διὰ πάντων τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης μερῶν ἄδηταί σου τὸ κλέος καὶ οἱ μετ'
- 285 εὐχαριστίας ἔπαινοι συνηχῶνται. φίλων ἐνίων πατρίδας ὅλας¹ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἡξίωσας πολιτείας,

¹ mss. ὅλης.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 280-285

who do not tell you that they love their Caesar but love him in very truth. As for the holy 281 city, I must say what befits me to say. While she, as I have said, is my native city she is also the mother city not of one country Judaea but of most of the others in virtue of the colonies sent out at divers times to the neighbouring lands Egypt, Phoenicia, the part of Syria called the Hollow and the rest as well and the lands lying far apart, Pamphylia, Cilicia, most of Asia up to Bithynia and the corners of Pontus, similarly also into Europe, Thessaly, Boeotia, Macedonia, Aetolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth and most of the best parts of Peloponnese. And not only are 282 the mainlands full of Jewish colonies but also the most highly esteemed of the islands Euboea, Cyprus, Crete. I say nothing of the countries beyond the Euphrates, for except for a small part they all, Babylon and of the other satrapies those where the land within their confines^a is highly fertile, have Jewish inhabitants. So that if my own home-city 283 is granted a share of your goodwill the benefit extends not to one city but to myriads of the others situated in every region of the inhabited world whether in Europe or in Asia or in Libya, whether in the mainlands or on the islands, whether it be seaboard or inland. It well befits the magnitude of 284 your great good fortune that by benefiting one city you should benefit myriads of others also so that through every part of the world your glory should be celebrated and your praises mingled with thanksgiving resound. Some of your friends have had their 285 homelands as a whole deemed worthy by you of

^a Or "the land round them," the satrapy being identified with its capital.

καὶ γεγόνασιν οἱ πρὸ μικροῦ δοῦλοι δεσπόται
 ἐτέρων· καὶ τῶν ἀπολελυκότων τῆς χάριτος μάλ-
 286 λον ἢ οὐχ ἦττον οἱ δι' οὓς γέγονεν ἡδονταί. καὶ γὰρ
 τίς εἰμι τῶν εἰδόντων μὲν ὅτι δεσπότην ἔχω καὶ
 κύριον, κεκριμένων δὲ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐταίρων,
 [588] ἀξιώματος μὲν ἕνεκα οὐ πολλῶν ὕστερος, | εὐνοίας
 287 δὲ οὐδενὸς δεύτερος, ἵνα μὴ λέγω πρῶτος. διὰ τε
 οὖν τὸ πεφυκέναι¹ καὶ διὰ τὸ πλήθος τῶν εὐερ-
 γεσιῶν, αἷς με κατεπλούτισας, θαρρήσας ἂν ἴσως
 αἰτήσασθαι τῇ πατρίδι καὶ αὐτός, εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν
 Ῥωμαϊκὴν πολιτείαν, ἐλευθερίαν γοῦν ἢ φόρων
 ἄφεσιν, οὐδὲν ἀπετόλμησα τοιοῦτον αἰτήσασθαι,
 τὸ δὲ φορητότατον, χάριν σοὶ μὲν ἀζήμιον δοῦναι,
 τῇ δὲ πατρίδι λαβεῖν ὠφελιμωτάτην· τί γὰρ ἂν
 γένοιτο εὐμενείας ἡγεμόνος ὑπηκόοις ἄμεινον
 288 ἀγαθόν; ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρῶτον, αὐτοκράτορ,
 ἡγγέλη σου ἢ εὐκταία διαδοχῇ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερο-
 πόλεως ἐπὶ τὰς παρ' ἑκάτερα ἡπείρους ἐχώρησεν
 ἡ φήμη· προνομίας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τυγχάνειν ἐστὶν
 289 ἀξία παρὰ σοί. καθάπερ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συγγενείαις
 οἱ πρεσβύτατοι παῖδες τυγχάνουσι πρεσβείων, ὅτι
 πρῶτοι τὸ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ μητὴρ ὄνομα τοῖς
 γονεῦσιν ἐφήμισαν, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ἐπειδὴ τῶν
 ἀνατολικῶν πρώτη πόλις αὕτη σε προσείπεν
 αὐτοκράτορα, δικαία τυγχάνειν πλειόνων ἐστὶν
 290 ἀγαθῶν, εἰ δὲ μή, τῶν γοῦν ἴσων. τοσαῦτα δικαιο-
 λογηθεὶς καὶ δεσθεὶς ἅμα περὶ τῆς πατρίδος εἰμι
 τὸ τελευταῖον ἐπὶ τὴν <περὶ> τοῦ ἱεροῦ δέησιν.
 τοῦτο, Γάιε δέσποτα, τὸ ἱερὸν χειρόκμητον οὐδε-
 μίαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς μορφήν παρεδέξατο διὰ τὸ ἔδος τοῦ

¹ Α τὸ πεφυκέναι εὖ, Mangey τὸ (τοιοῦτος) πεφυκέναι.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 285-290

Roman citizenship, and men who but now were slaves have become masters of others. The pleasure which this gracious action gives to those who have enjoyed it is felt quite as much if not more by those for whose sake it was done. I myself, being one of those who 286 while knowing we have a lord and master have been chosen to rank among your companions, am in dignity inferior to few and in loyalty second to none, I might almost say the first. And though, because I am what 287 I am and in view of the multitude of benefits with which you have enriched me I might perhaps have had the courage to beg myself that my homeland should obtain if not Roman citizenship at least freedom and remission of tribute, I have felt it would be overbold to ask for anything of the kind and only prefer the very modest request of a favour which you will lose nothing by giving and my country will best profit by receiving. For what greater boon can subjects have than the goodwill of their ruler? It 288 was in Jerusalem, my emperor, that your much-prayed-for succession was first announced, and from the holy city the rumour travelled to the mainlands on both sides, and for that reason it deserves to hold the premier place in your esteem. For just as in 289 families the oldest children hold the primacy because they have been the first to give the name of father and mother to their parents, so too this city since it was the first of eastern cities to address you as emperor deserves to receive greater boons than they or at least no less. Having said thus much as a 290 claimant for justice and as a suppliant also on behalf of my native place I come finally to my supplication for the temple. This temple, my Lord Gaius, has never from the first admitted any figure wrought by

ἀληθοῦς εἶναι θεοῦ· γραφέων μὲν γὰρ καὶ πλαστῶν
 ἔργα μιμήματα τῶν αἰσθητῶν θεῶν εἰσιν· τὸν δὲ
 ἀόρατον εἰκονογραφεῖν ἢ διαπλάττειν οὐχ ὅσιον
 291 ἐνομίσθη τοῖς ἡμετέροις προγόνοις. Ἀγρίππας
 ἐτίμησε τὸ ἱερὸν ἐλθὼν, ὃ πάππος σου, καὶ ὁ
 Σεβαστὸς διὰ τοῦ κελεῦσαι τὰς πανταχόθεν ἀπαρ-
 χὰς ἐπιστολαῖς¹ πέμπειν ἐκείσε καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐντε-
 292 λεχοῦς θυσίας· καὶ ἡ προμάμμη σου * * *² ὅθεν
 οὐδεῖς, οὐχ Ἑλλήν, οὐ βάρβαρος, οὐ σατράπης, οὐ
 βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἐχθρὸς ἄσπονδος, οὐ στάσις, οὐ
 πόλεμος, οὐχ ἄλωσης, οὐ πόρθησις, οὐκ ἄλλο τι
 τῶν ὄντων οὐδὲν ἐνεωτέρισέ ποτε οὕτως εἰς τὸν
 νεών, ὡς ἄγαλμα ἢ ξόανον ἢ τι τῶν χειροκμήτων
 293 ἰδρῦσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ εἰ τοῖς οἰκήτορσι τῆς χώρας
 [589] ἀπήχθοντο δυσμενεῖς ὄντες, ἀλλ' αἰδώς γέ | τις
 ἢ φόβος εἰσῆει παραλῦσαί τι τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς νενο-
 μισμένων ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ ποιητοῦ τῶν ὅλων καὶ
 πατρός· ἥδεσαν γὰρ ἐκ τούτων καὶ τῶν ὁμοιοτρό-
 πων τὰς τῶν θεηλάτων κακῶν φνομένας ἀνηκέστους
 συμφοράς. ἥς χάριν αἰτίας ἀσεβὲς σπέρμα σπείρειν
 εὐλαβοῦντο δεδιότες, μὴ θερίζειν ἀναγκασθῶσι
 τοὺς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ παντελεῖ καρπούς.

¹ The position of ἐπιστολαῖς seems very strange, if not impossible. Mangey suggests transposition—presumably in juxtaposition to κελεῦσαι—or correction to ἀποστολαῖς=“by missions” (of persons chosen for the purpose). But the evidence he cites for this use does not seem to do away with its superfluity after πέμπειν.

² The supposed lacuna suggested by Mangey is supported by Cohn and Reiter. It certainly looks as if some words had fallen out anticipating what is said of Julia Augusta (Livia) in § 319, as ἐλθὼν anticipates the account of Agrippa in

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 290-293

men's hands, because it is the sanctuary of the true God. For the works of painters and modellers are representations of gods perceived by sense but to paint or mould a likeness of the invisible was held by our ancestors to be against their religion. Your 291 grandfather Agrippa visited and paid honour to the temple, and so did Augustus by the letters in which he ordered the first fruits to be sent from every quarter and by instituting the perpetual sacrifice. Your great-grandmother too . . . Thus no one, Greek or 292 non-Greek, no satrap, no king, no mortal enemy, no faction, no war, no storming or sacking of the city, nor any existing thing ever brought about so great a violation of the temple as the setting up in it of an image or statue or any hand-wrought object for worship. For even if they were ill-disposed and 293 hostile to the inhabitants of the land yet an instinct of reverence or fear warned them against breaking down any of the customs observed from the first in honour of the Maker and Father of all, for they knew that it was from these and like actions that the irreparable calamities of divine visitations spring. Therefore they took good care not to sow the seed of impiety, lest they should be compelled to reap its fruits which bring utter destruction.

§§ 294-297, and the words about Augustus anticipate §§ 311-318. But I should not expect more than something like δι' ὧν ἐδωρήσατο, since ἐτίμησε has all three persons for its subject. Mangey however thought that something more was required on the grounds that § 292 has no logical connexion with § 291. But if we regard that section as parenthetical there is a sufficient logical connexion between §§ 290 and 292, and it is quite in Philo's manner to have causal clauses which connect with something which has not immediately preceded. See *Introduct.* pp. xxi-xxiii.

PHILO

- 294 XXXVII. “ Ἄλλὰ τί μοι ξένους καλεῖν μάρτυρας ἔχοντι πολλοὺς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σοι παραστήσαι; Μάρκος Ἀγρίππας εὐθέως, ὁ πρὸς μητρός σου πάππος, ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ γενόμενος, ἥνικα Ἡρώδης ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος ἐβασίλευε τῆς χώρας, ἀναβῆναι μὲν ἀπὸ θαλάττης εἰς τὴν μητρόπολιν ἐν μεσογείῳ
- 295 κειμένην ἠξίωσε· θεασάμενος δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἱερέων κόσμον καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐγχωρίων ἀγιστείαν, ἡγάσθη χρῆμα νομίσας ὑπέρσεμνόν τι καὶ παντὸς λόγου μείζον ἑωρακέναι, καὶ διήγημα οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον αὐτῷ πρὸς τοὺς συνόντας τότε τῶν ἐταίρων ἢ ὁ τοῦ νεῶ καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὸν ἀπάντων
- 296 ἔπαινος. ὅσας γοῦν ἡμέρας διέτριψεν ἐν τῇ πόλει κατὰ χάριν τὴν πρὸς Ἡρώδην, ἐφοίτησεν εἰς τὸ τέμενος τερπόμενος τῇ θεᾷ καὶ τῆς κατασκευῆς καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς περὶ τὰ ἱερουργούμενα λειτουργίας καὶ τάξεως καὶ τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα σεμνότητος, ὁπότε ἀσκηθεῖη τῇ ἱερᾷ στολῇ καὶ
- 297 κατάρχῃ τῶν ἱερῶν. ἀναθήμασι δὲ κοσμήσας ὅσοις ἐξῆν τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας εὐεργετήσας ὅσα μὴ βλάβῃ χαριζόμενος, Ἡρώδην εὐφημήσας πολλὰ καὶ εὐφημηθεὶς μυρία, παρεπέμφθη μέχρι λιμένων, οὐχ ὑπὸ μιᾶς πόλεως, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης, φυλλοβολούμενός τε καὶ θαυμαζό-
- 298 μενος ἐπ’ εὐσεβείᾳ. τί δὲ ὁ ἕτερός σου πάππος Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ; οὐχὶ ταῦτα φαίνεται προηρημένος; ἐν γοῦν τρισὶ καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτεσιν οἷς αὐτοκράτωρ ἐγένετο τὴν κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκ μηκίστων χρόνων παραδεδομένην θρησκείαν ἐτήρη-

^a Meaning perhaps such as would not be offensive to Herod or be felt to be encroaching on his authority.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 294-298

XXXVII. " But why should I cite the testimony of 294
strangers when I can set before you that of many of
your closest kinsmen ? For instance your maternal
grandfather M. Agrippa, being in Judaea when Herod
my grandfather was king of the country, saw fit to
come up from the coast to the capital situated in the
centre of the land. But when he surveyed the temple 295
and the rich array of the priests and the worship paid
by the native population he was filled with wonder
thinking that he had seen something to be profoundly
reverenced, something greater than words could
describe. His discourse to those of his friends who
were there with him consisted of nothing else but
praise of the sanctuary and all that pertained to it.
Thus throughout the days which he spent in the 296
city out of courtesy to Herod he resorted to the
precinct, delighting himself with the spectacle both
of the ornate structure and of the sacrifices and the
ritual observed in the services and the majestic aspect
of the high priest when arrayed in the sacred vest-
ments and conducting the holy rites. After decking 297
the temple with all the dedicatory gifts which the
law made permissible and benefiting the inhabitants
by granting every favour which he could without
causing mischief^a and paying many compliments to
Herod and receiving a host of the same from him,
he was escorted to the harbours not by one city only
but by the whole population of the country amid
showers of posies which expressed their admiration
of his piety. What of your other grand- 298
father Tiberius Caesar ? Did he not evidently adopt
the same policy ? At any rate in the twenty-three
years during which he was emperor he maintained the
tradition observed in the temple from distant ages and

- σεν, οὐδὲν αὐτῆς παραλύσας ἢ παρακινήσας μέρος.
- 299 XXXVIII. ἔχω δέ τι καὶ φιλοτιμία αὐτοῦ προσ-
 διηγῆσθαι, καίτοι μυρίων ἀπολελαυκῶς ὅτε ἔζη
 κακῶν· ἀλλὰ τάληθές φίλον καὶ σοὶ τίμιον. Πιλᾶ-
 τος ἦν τῶν ὑπάρχων ἐπίτροπος ἀποδεδειγμένος τῆς
 Ἰουδαίας· οὗτος οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμῇ Τιβερίου μᾶλλον ἢ
 ἕνεκα τοῦ λυπῆσαι τὸ πλῆθος ἀνατίθῃσιν ἐν τοῖς
 κατὰ τὴν ἱερόπολιν Ἑρῳδου βασιλείοις ἐπιχρύσους
 [590] ἀσπίδας μήτε | μορφὴν ἔχουσας μήτε ἄλλο τι τῶν
 ἀπηγορευμένων, ἔξω τινὸς ἐπιγραφῆς ἀναγκαίας,
 ἢ δύο ταῦτα ἐμήνυε, τὸν τε ἀναθέντα καὶ ὑπὲρ οὗ
 300 ἢ ἀνάθεσις. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦσθοντο οἱ πολλοί—καὶ
 περιβόητον ἦν ἤδη τὸ πρᾶγμα—, προστησάμενοι
 τοὺς τε βασιλέως υἱεῖς τέτταρας οὐκ ἀποδέοντας
 τό τε ἀξίωμα καὶ τὰς τύχας βασιλέων καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους ἀπογόνους καὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἐν
 τέλει παρεκάλουν τὸ νεωτερισθὲν περὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας
 εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν ἀγαγεῖν καὶ μὴ κινεῖν ἔθνη πάτρια
 τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πάντα αἰῶνα διαφυλαχθέντα καὶ πρὸς
 301 βασιλέων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοκρατόρων ἀκίνητα. στερ-
 ρῶς δὲ ἀντιλέγοντος—ἦν γὰρ τὴν φύσιν ἀκαμπῆς
 καὶ μετὰ τοῦ αὐθάδους ἀμείλικτος—, ἀνεβόησαν·
 ‘μὴ στασίαζε, μὴ πολεμοποιεῖ, μὴ κατάλυε τὴν
 εἰρήνην· οὐκ ἔστιν ἀτιμία νόμων ἀρχαίων αὐτο-
 κράτορος τιμῇ. μὴ πρόφασις τῆς εἰς τὸ ἔθνος
 ἐπηρείας ἔστω σοι Τιβέριος· οὐδὲν ἐθέλει τῶν
 ἡμετέρων καταλύεσθαι. εἰ δὲ φῆς, αὐτὸς ἐπίδει-
 ξον ἢ διάταγμα ἢ ἐπιστολὴν ἢ ὁμοιότροπον, ἵνα

* Or perhaps “showing his public spirit,” as *φιλοτιμία* is sometimes used of the munificence of rulers (see *Lexicon*). L. & S. revised strangely cite this passage in the sense of “a.”

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THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 298-301

destroyed or disturbed no part of it. XXXVIII. I 299
can quote in addition one act showing a fine spirit.^a
For though I experienced many ills when he was alive,
truth is dear, and is held in honour by you.^b One
of his lieutenants was Pilate, who was appointed to
govern Judaea. He, not so much to honour Tiberius
as to annoy the multitude, dedicated in Herod's
palace in the holy city some shields coated with gold.
They had no image work traced on them nor any-
thing else forbidden by the law apart from the barest
inscription stating two facts, the name of the person
who made the dedication and of him in whose honour
it was made. But when the multitude understood 300
the matter which had by now become a subject of
common talk, having put at their head the king's four
sons,^c who in dignity and good fortune were not in-
ferior to a king, and his other descendants and the
persons of authority in their own body, they appealed
to Pilate to redress the infringement of their tradi-
tions caused by the shields and not to disturb the
customs which throughout all the preceding ages had
been safeguarded without disturbance by kings and
by emperors. When he, naturally inflexible, a blend 301
of self-will and relentlessness, stubbornly refused they
clamoured, 'Do not arouse sedition, do not make
war, do not destroy the peace; you do not honour
the emperor by dishonouring ancient laws. Do not
take Tiberius as your pretext for outraging the
nation; he does not wish any of our customs to be
overthrown. If you say that he does, produce your-
self an order or a letter or something of the kind so
act of ambition or ostentation," which is surely quite out of
place. ^b Or perhaps "reflects honour on you."

^c For the account in Josephus *cf. Bell. Jud.* ii. 169 ff.,
vol. ii. p. 389 L.C.L.

- παυσάμενοι τοῦ σοὶ διενοχλεῖν πρέσβεις ἐλόμενοι
 302 δεώμεθα τοῦ δεσπότου.' τὸ τελευταῖον τοῦτο μά-
 λιστα αὐτὸν ἐξετράχυνε καταδείσαντα, μὴ τῷ ὄντι
 πρεσβευσάμενοι καὶ τῆς ἄλλης αὐτὸν ἐπιτροπῆς
 ἐξελέγξωσι τὰς δωροδοκίας, τὰς ὕβρεις, τὰς ἀρ-
 παγὰς, τὰς αἰκίας, τὰς ἐπηρείας, τοὺς ἀκρίτους καὶ
 ἐπαλλήλους φόνους, τὴν ἀνήνυτον καὶ ἀργαλεω-
 303 τάτην ὠμότητα διεξελθόντες. οἶα οὖν ἐγκότως
 ἔχων καὶ βαρύμηνις (ὦν) ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀμηχάνοις
 ἦν, μήτε καθελεῖν τὰ ἅπαξ ἀνατεθέντα θαρρῶν
 μήτε βουλόμενός τι τῶν πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις
 ἐργάσασθαι, ἅμα δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐν τούτοις σταθερό-
 τητα Τιβερίου μὴ ἀγνοῶν· ἅπερ ὀρῶντες οἱ ἐν
 τέλει καὶ συνιέντες, ὅτι μετανοεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς
 πεπραγμένοις, δοκεῖν δὲ οὐ βούλεται, γράφουσι
 304 Τιβερίῳ δεητικωτάτας ἐπιστολάς. ὁ δὲ διαναγνοὺς¹
 οἶα μὲν εἶπε Πιλάτον, οἶα δὲ ἠπέλιπεν· ὥς δὲ
 ὠργίσθη, καίτοι οὐκ εὐληπτος ὢν ὀργῇ, περιττόν
 ἐστὶ διηγείσθαι, τοῦ πράγματος ἐξ αὐτοῦ φωνήν
 305 ἀφιέντος. εὐθέως γὰρ οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν
 ὑπερθέμενος ἐπιστέλλει, μυρία μὲν τοῦ καινουργη-
 θέντος πολμήματος ὀνειδίζων καὶ ἐπιπλήττων,
 κελεύων δὲ αὐτίκα καθελεῖν τὰς ἀσπίδας καὶ
 μετακομισθῆναι ἐκ τῆς μητροπόλεως εἰς τὴν ἐπὶ
 θαλάττῃ Καισάρειαν, ἐπώνυμον τοῦ προπάππου
 Σεβαστῆν, ἵνα ἀνατεθεῖεν ἐν τῷ Σεβαστείῳ· καὶ
 ἀνετέθησαν. οὕτως ἀμφότερα ἐφυλάχθη, καὶ ἡ |
 [591] τιμὴ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν πόλιν

¹ MSS. διαγνοὺς. See on § 203.

^a So in Jos. *Ant.* xvi. 136, though the epithet Σεβαστή does not appear elsewhere. It is usually distinguished from
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THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 301-305

that we may cease to pester you and having chosen our envoys may petition our lord.' It was this final 302 point which particularly exasperated him, for he feared that if they actually sent an embassy they would also expose the rest of his conduct as governor by stating in full the briberies, the insults, the robberies, the outrages and wanton injuries, the executions without trial constantly repeated, the ceaseless and supremely grievous cruelty. So with all his vindictiveness and furious temper, he was in a difficult 303 position. He had not the courage to take down what had been dedicated nor did he wish to do anything which would please his subjects. At the same time he knew full well the constant policy of Tiberius in these matters. The magnates saw this and understanding that he had repented of his action but did not wish to appear penitent sent letters of very earnest supplication to Tiberius. When he had read 304 them through what language he used about Pilate, what threats he made! The violence of his anger, though he was not easily roused to anger, it is needless to describe since the facts speak for themselves. For at once without even postponing it to 305 the morrow he wrote to Pilate with a host of reproaches and rebukes for his audacious violation of precedent and bade him at once take down the shields and have them transferred from the capital to Caesarea on the coast surnamed Augusta^a after your great-grandfather, to be set up in the temple of Augustus, and so they were. So both objects were safeguarded, the honour paid to the emperor and the policy observed from of old in dealing

Caesarea Philippi by ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσση as here; v. *Pauly-Wissowa*, s.v.

- 306 ἀρχαία συνήθεια. XXXIX. τότε μὲν οὖν ἀσπίδες ἦσαν, αἷς οὐδὲν ἀνεζωγράφητο μίμημα· νυνὶ δὲ κολοσσιαῖος ἀνδριάς. καὶ τότε μὲν ἡ ἀνάθεσις ἐν οἰκίᾳ τῶν ἐπιτρόπων ἦν· τὴν δὲ μέλλουσάν φασιν ἐσωτάτῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατ' αὐτὰ τὰ ἄδυτα γίνεσθαι, εἰς ἃ ἅπαξ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὁ μέγας ἱερεὺς εἰσέρχεται τῇ νηστείᾳ λεγομένη μόνον ἐπιθυμιάσων καὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια εὐξόμενος φορὰν ἀγαθῶν εὐετηρίαν τε
- 307 καὶ εἰρήνην ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις. κἂν ἄρα τίς που, οὐ λέγω τῶν ἄλλων Ἰουδαίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων, οὐχὶ τῶν ὑστάτων, ἀλλὰ τῶν τὴν εὐθὺς μετὰ τὸν πρῶτον τάξιν εἰληχότων, ἡ καθ' αὐτὸν ἡ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου συνεισέλθῃ, μᾶλλον δὲ κἂν αὐτὸς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς δυσὶν ἡμέραις τοῦ ἔτους ἡ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ τρὶς ἡ καὶ τετράκις εἰσφοιτήσῃ, θάνατον
- 308 ἀπαραίτητον ὑπομένει. τοσαύτη τίς ἐστὶν ἡ περὶ τὰ ἄδυτα φυλακὴ τοῦ νομοθέτου μόνα ἐκ πάντων ἄβατα καὶ ἄψαυστα βουλευθέντος αὐτὰ διατηρεῖσθαι. πόσους ἂν οὖν οἶε θανάτους ἐκουσίως ὑπομένειν τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα ὠσιωμένους, εἰ θεάσαιντο τὸν ἀνδριάντα εἰσκομιζόμενον; ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκοῦσι γενεὰς ὅλας αὐταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἀποσφάζαντες ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν οἰκείων πτώμασιν ἑαυτοὺς τελευταῖον καθιερεύσειν. ταῦτα μὲν
- 309 Τιβέριος ἔγνω. τί δὲ ὁ σὸς πρόπαππος, ὁ τῶν πώποτε γενομένων αὐτοκρατόρων ἄριστος, ὁ πρῶτος ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ τύχης Σεβαστὸς ὀνομασθείς, ὁ τὴν εἰρήνην διαχέας πάντῃ διὰ γῆς
- 310 καὶ θαλάττης ἄχρι τῶν τοῦ κόσμου περάτων; οὐκ ἀκοῇ πυνθανόμενος τὰ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐστὶν ἀφίδρυμα ἐν αὐτῷ χειρόκμητον, ὁρατὸν ἀοράτου μίμημα φύσεως, ἐθαύμαζε καὶ προσεκύνει,

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 305-310

with the city. XXXIX. Now at that time it was 306
shields on which no likeness had been painted ;
now it is a colossal statue. Then too the installation
was in the house of the governors ; now they say
it is to be in the inmost part of the temple in the
special sanctuary itself, into which the Grand Priest
enters once a year only on the Fast as it is called, to
offer incense and to pray according to ancestral
practice for a full supply of blessings and prosperity
and peace for all mankind. And if any priest, to 307
say nothing of the other Jews, and not merely one
of the lowest priests but of those who are ranked
directly below the chief, goes in either by himself or
with the High Priest, and further even if the High
Priest enters on two days in the year or thrice or four
times on the same day death without appeal is his
doom. So greatly careful was the law-giver to guard 308
the inmost sanctuary, the one and only place which
he wished to keep preserved untrodden and un-
touched. How many deaths think you would those
who have been trained to holiness in these matters
willingly endure if they should see the statue im-
ported thither? I believe that they would slaughter
their whole families, women and children alike, and
finally immolate themselves upon the corpses of their
kin. This Tiberius knew. But what of 309
your greatgrandfather the best of the emperors that
ever were to this day, he who first received the
title of Augustus for his virtue and good fortune,
who disseminated peace everywhere over sea and
land to the ends of the world? Did he not, hearing 310
by report the story of the temple and that it had
no work of man's hands, a visible effigy of an invi-
sible being, erected in it, marvel and pay it honour?

- φιλοσοφίας οὐκ ἄκροις χεῖλεσι γευσάμενος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πλεόν ἑστιαθεὶς καὶ σχεδόν τι καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἑστιώμενος, τὰ μὲν μνήμαις ὧν ἡ διάνοια προμαθοῦσα τὰ φιλοσοφίας ἀνεπὸλει, τὰ δὲ καὶ ταῖς τῶν συνόντων ἀεὶ λογίων συνδιαιτήσεσι; κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἐν δείπνῳ συνουσίας ὁ πλείστος χρόνος ἀπενέμετο τοῖς ἀπὸ παιδείας, ἵνα μὴ τὸ σῶμα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀνατρέφοιτο.
- 311 XL. τεκμηρίοις δὲ ἀφθόνοις πιστώσασθαι δυνάμενος τὸ βούλημα τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ προπάππου σου δυσὶν ἀρκεσθήσομαι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ἐπέστειλε τοῖς ἐπιτρόποις τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπικρατειῶν, πυθόμενος ὀλιγωρεῖσθαι τὰς ἱερὰς ἀπαρχάς, ἵνα ἐπιτρέπωσι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μόνοις εἰς τὰ συναγώγια
- 312 συνέρχεσθαι· μὴ γὰρ εἶναι ταῦτα συνόδους ἐκ μέθης καὶ παροινίας ἐπὶ συστάσει,¹ ὥς λυμαίνεσθαι
- [592] τὰ | τῆς εἰρήνης, ἀλλὰ διδασκαλεῖα σωφροσύνης καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀνδρῶν ἐπιτηδευόντων μὲν ἀρετὴν, ἀπαρχὰς δὲ ἐτησίους συμφερόντων, ἐξ ὧν ἀνάγουσι θυσίας στέλλοντες ἱεροπομποὺς εἰς τὸ ἐν Ἱερο-
- 313 σολύμοις ἱερόν. εἶτα κελεύει μηδένα ἐμποδῶν ἵστασθαι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις μήτε συνιούσι μήτε συνεισφέρουσι μήτε διαπεμπομένοις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· ταῦτα γὰρ εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασι,
- 314 τοῖς γοῦν πράγμασιν ἐπέσταλται. μίαν δὲ ἐπιστολὴν ὑποτέταχα πρὸς τὴν σὴν τοῦ δεσπότης πειθῶ, ἣν Γάιος Νορβανὸς Φλάκκος ἐπιστέλλει

¹ Reiter has ἐπισυστάσας on Cohn's conjecture. The mss. readings recorded are ἐπὶ συστάσει (so Mangey), ἐπὶ συστάσεως and ἐπισυστάντα. I do not see much reason for ἐπισυστάσας, which, if taken in the sense of conspiring, would naturally be followed by a dative, nor any difficulty in ἐπὶ συστάσει. For σύστασις in this sense cf. *De Praem.* 75.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 310-314

For he had not taken a mere sip of philosophy but had feasted on it liberally and continued so to feast almost every day, partly by the memories of the lessons which his mind had conned from its earlier instruction in philosophy, partly by intercourse with the learned who from time to time were in his company. For in the gatherings at his table most of the time was assigned to listening to men of culture^a so that not only the body but also the soul might be nourished by the food proper to each. XL. While I have 311 a great abundance of evidence to show the wishes of your great-grandfather Augustus I will content myself with two examples. The first is a letter which he sent to the governors of the provinces in Asia, as he had learnt that the sacred first-fruits were treated with disrespect. He ordered that the Jews alone should be permitted by them to assemble in synagogues. These gatherings, he said, were not 312 based on drunkenness and carousing to promote conspiracy and so to do grave injury to the cause of peace, but were schools of temperance and justice where men while practising virtue subscribed the annual first-fruits to pay for the sacrifices which they offer and commissioned sacred envoys to take them to the temple in Jerusalem. Then he commanded that no 313 one should hinder the Jews from meeting or subscribing or sending envoys to Jerusalem according to their ancestral practice. For these were certainly the substance if not the actual words of his instructions. But 314 there is one letter which I subjoin here to convince you, my lord and master, sent by Gaius Norbanus Flaccus

^a This might mean "subjects of culture," but cf. in *De Mut.* 33 and *Quod Omn. Prob.* 125, where we have *οἱ ἀπὸ παιδείας*.

- δηλῶν τὰ ὑπὸ Καίσαρος αὐτῷ γραφέντα. ἔστι δὲ
 315 τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον τόδε· Ὁ Γάιος Νορβανὸς Φλάκκος ἀνθύπατος Ἑφεσίων ἄρχουσι χαίρειν. Καίσαρ μοι ἔγραψεν, Ἰουδαίους, οὓς ἂν ὦσιν, ἰδίῳ ἀρχαίῳ ἔθισμῷ νομίζειν συναγομένους χρήματα φέρειν, ἃ πέμπουσιν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα· τούτους οὐκ ἠθέλησε κωλύεσθαι τοῦτο ποιεῖν. ἔγραψα οὖν ὑμῖν, ἵν' εἰδῆτε, ὥς ταῦτα οὕτως γίνεσθαι κελεύει.
 316 Ἄρ' οὐκ ἐναργῆς πίστις ἐστίν, αὐτοκράτορ, τῆς Καίσαρος προαιρέσεως, ἥ περὶ τὴν τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἱεροῦ τιμὴν ἐκέχρητο, μὴ βουλευθεὶς τῷ κοινῷ τύπῳ τῶν συνόδων ἀναιρεθῆναι τὰς τῶν Ἰουδαίων εἰς ταὐτὸ συμφοιτήσεις, ἃς ἀπαρχῶν ἕνεκα ποιοῦνται
 317 καὶ τῆς ἄλλης εὐσεβείας; ἕτερον δὲ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀποδέον τούτου δείγμα σαφέστατον τῆς βουλήσεως τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ· διετάξατο γὰρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων ἀνάγεσθαι θυσίας ἐντελεχεῖς¹ ὁλοκαύτους τῷ ὑψίστῳ θεῷ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, αἱ καὶ μέχρι νῦν ἐπιτελοῦνται· ἄρνες εἰσὶ δύο καὶ ταῦρος τὰ ἱερεῖα, οἷς Καίσαρ ἐφαίδρυνε τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιστάμενος σαφῶς, ὅτι οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀφίδρυμα οὔτε
 318 φανερόν οὔτε ἀφανές· ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὁ τοσοῦτος ἡγεμὼν καὶ φιλόσοφος² οὐδενὸς δεύτερος ἐλογίσατο παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς περιγείοις ἐξαιρέτον ἀπονεμεῖσθαι τόπον ἱερὸν τῷ ἀοράτῳ θεῷ μηδὲν ὁρατὸν ἀπεικόνισμα περιέξοντα πρὸς μετουσίαν ἐλπίδων χρηστῶν καὶ ἀπόλαυσιν ἀγαθῶν
 319 τελείων. ὑφήγητῇ τοιούτῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας χρησαμένη καὶ ἡ προμάμμη σου Ἰουλία Σεβαστὴ κατεκόσμησε τὸν νεῶν χρυσαῖς φιάλαις καὶ σπονδαίοις καὶ ἄλλων ἀναθημάτων πολυτελε-

¹ MSS. ἐντελεῖς.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 314-319

declaring what Caesar had written to him. Here is a transcript of this letter. 'Gaius Norbanus Flaccus pro- 315
 consul to the magistrates of the Ephesians, greeting. Caesar has written to me that the Jews, wherever they may be, regularly according to their old peculiar custom, make a rule of meeting together and subscribing money which they send to Jerusalem. He does not wish them to be hindered from doing this. I therefore write to you to let you know that this is what he orders to be done.' Is not this a clear proof, my 316
 emperor, of the principles which he followed as to the honour due to our temple? He did not think that the form generally adopted about meetings should be applied to do away with the assemblages of the Jews to which they resort for collection of the first-fruits and their other religious observances. Another 317
 example no less cogent than this shows very clearly the will of Augustus. He gave orders for a continuation of whole burnt offerings every day to the Most High God to be charged to his own purse. These are carried out to this day. Two lambs and a bull are the victims with which he added lustre to the altar, knowing well that there is no image there openly or secretly set up. Indeed this great ruler, this philosopher 318
 second to none, reasoned in his mind that within the precincts of earth there must needs be a special place assigned as sacred to the invisible God which would contain no visible image, a place to give us participation in good hopes and enjoyment of perfect blessings. Under such an instructor in 319
 piety your great-grandmother Julia Augusta adorned the temple with golden vials and libation bowls and a multitude of other sumptuous offerings. What made

² MSS. φιλοσοφία (= -α) or φιλοσοφίας.

στάτων πλήθει· τί παθοῦσα καὶ αὕτη, μηδενὸς ἔνδον ὄντος ἀφιδρύματος; ἀσθενέστεραι γάρ πῶς εἰσιν αἱ γινώμαι τῶν γυναικῶν ἔξω τῶν αἰσθητῶν
 320 μηδὲν ἰσχύουσαι νοητὸν καταλαβεῖν. ἡ δέ γε
 [593] καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅλον | τὸ γένος κὰν τούτῳ διήνεγκεν, ὑπὸ παιδείας ἀκράτου φύσει καὶ μελέτῃ περιγεγενημένης,¹ ἀρρενωθεῖσα τὸν λογισμὸν, ὃς οὕτως ὀξύτερῃ ἐγεγένητο, ὥς μᾶλλον τὰ νοητὰ καταλαμβάνειν τῶν αἰσθητῶν καὶ ταῦτα νομίζειν ἐκείνων εἶναι σκιάς.

321 XLI. “Ἐχων οὖν, δέσποτα, τῆς ἡμερωτέρας^a προαιρέσεως τοιαῦτα παραδείγματα, πάντα οἰκειότατα καὶ συγγενέστατα ἀφ’ ὧν ἐσπάρης καὶ ἀνέβλαστες καὶ τοσοῦτον ἠϋξήθης, διατήρησον ἃ κακείνων
 322 ἕκαστος. παρακλητεύουσι τοῖς νόμοις αὐτοκράτορες πρὸς αὐτοκράτορα, Σεβαστοὶ πρὸς Σεβαστόν, πάπποι καὶ πρόγονοι πρὸς ἕκγονον, πλείους πρὸς ἓνα, μονονουχὶ φάσκοντες· ἐν ταῖς ἡμετέραις βουλήσεσιν ἃ μέχρι καὶ τήμερον ἐφυλάχθη νόμιμα μὴ καθέλης· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς καταλύσεως

¹ So Mangey with some mss. Others περιγεγενημένη (so Reiter). See note a.

^a mss. ἡμετέρας.

^a The exact meaning, as well as the reading, see note 1, is uncertain. The one thing certain is that we have an allusion to the Educational Trinity, Nature, Instruction and Practice, which occurs so frequently in Philo, particularly in its spiritual application. See particularly Introd. to vol. vi. pp. x f. and vol. viii. p. 453. Mangey's translation “ex eruditione pura quam natura et studio comparaverat,” is, I think, impossible.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 319-322

her too do this, as there was no image there? For the judgements of women as a rule are weaker and do not apprehend any mental conception apart from what their senses perceive. But she excelled all her sex in this as in everything else, for the purity of the training she received supplementing nature and practice^a gave virility to her reasoning power, which gained such clearness of vision that it apprehended the things of mind better than the things of sense and held the latter to be shadows of the former. 320

XLI. "So then, my lord, having such patterns of the gentler line of treatment, patterns so closely connected by kinship to yourself, the seed-bed from which you sprang^b and grew up and rose to such greatness, maintain what each of them also maintained. The cause of the laws is pleaded by emperors to emperor, by Augusti to an Augustus, by grandparents and ancestors to their descendant, by several to one, and you may almost hear them say, 'Do not destroy the institutions which under the shelter of our wills were safeguarded to this day, for even if no sinister result were encountered through their 321 322

By *παιδείας* Philo clearly refers to the instruction received from her *ὀφηγήτης* Augustus, and it is inconsistent with this to say that it was gained by nature and practice. The same applies if reading with Reiter we translate "through instruction she surpassed (her sex) in nature and practice." The translation above seems to me to give the required sense. Livia had the advantage of Augustus's instruction but like everybody else she could not use it properly without the other two. But I cannot find examples of *περιγίγνομαι* in this sense and I should like to read *παρὰγεγεννημένης* = "supporting" or "supplementing."

^b Or perhaps "most closely akin to those from whom you sprang," *τούτων* being omitted before *ἀφ' ὧν*. Cf. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 104 and 123.

PHILO

αὐτῶν ἀπαντηθεῖη παλίμφημον, ἀλλ' ἣ γε τοῦ
 μέλλοντος ἀδηλότης καὶ τοῖς θαρραλεωτάτοις, εἰ
 μὴ καταφρονηταὶ τῶν θείων εἰσίν, οὐ παντελῶς
 323 ἔστιν ἄφοβος. ἔὰν καταλέγωμαι τὰς εἰς ἑμαυτὸν
 ἐκ σοῦ γενομένας εὐεργεσίας, ἐπιλείψει με ἡ
 ἡμέρα, πρὸς τῷ μηδὲ ἀρμόττον εἶναι προηγούμενον
 ἔργον πάρεργον ἑτέρου ποιεῖσθαι λόγου· κἂν ἡσυ-
 χάζω μέντοι, τὰ πράγματα αὐτὰ βοᾷ καὶ φωνὴν
 324 ἀφίησιν. ἔλυσάς με σιδήρῳ δεδεμένον· τίς οὐκ
 οἶδεν; ἀλλὰ μὴ χαλεπωτέροις δεσμοῖς, αὐτο-
 κράτορ, ἐπισφίγξης· οἱ μὲν γὰρ λυθέντες μέρει
 περιβέβληντο τοῦ σώματος, οἱ δὲ νῦν προσδοκώ-
 μενοι ψυχῆς εἰσιν, ὅλην αὐτὴν δι' ὅλων μέλλοντες
 325 πιέζειν. τὸν ἐπικρεμάμενον αἰεὶ τοῦ θανάτου φόβον
 ἀπώσω καὶ τεθνεῶτα τῷ δέει ζωπυρῆσας καθάπερ
 ἐκ παλιγγενεσίας ἀνήγειρας· διατήρησον τὴν χάριν,
 αὐτοκράτορ, ἵνα μὴ ὁ σὸς Ἀγρίππας ἀποτάξῃται
 τῷ βίῳ· δόξω γὰρ οὐ τοῦ σωθῆναι χάριν ἀφείσθαι
 μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ βαρυτέρας ἐνδεξάμενος συμφορὰς
 326 ἐπισημότερον τελευτῆσαι. τὸν μέγιστον καὶ εὐ-
 τυχεστάτον ἐν ἀνθρώποις κλῆρον ἔχαρίσω μοι,
 βασιλείαν, πάλαι μὲν μιᾶς χώρας, αὖθις δὲ καὶ
 ἑτέρας μείζονος, τὴν Τραχωνίτιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν
 Γαλιλαίαν συνάψας· μὴ τὰ πρὸς περιουσίαν μοι
 χαρισάμενος, ὧ δέσποτα, τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἀφέλῃς
 327 μὴδὲ εἰς φῶς ἀναγαγὼν τηλαυγέστατον ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς
 [594] εἰς βαθύτατον σκότος ῥίψῃς. ἐξίσταμαι | τῶν
 λαμπρῶν ἐκείνων, τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ τύχην οὐ
 παραιτοῦμαι, πάντα ὑπαλλάττομαι ἐνός, τοῦ μὴ

“ Or “ I do not deprecate my recent (ill) fortune.” So Mangey. This is certainly more in accordance with the
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THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 322-327

overthrow, still the uncertainty of the future cannot entirely fail to strike fear into the most courageous unless he holds things divine in contempt.' If I should 323 recount the benefits conferred on myself by you, the day will be too short, and besides it is not suitable to treat a primary task as an appendage to another subject. And indeed even if I hold my peace the facts themselves break into speech and cry aloud. You released me bound fast in iron fetters, who does 324 not know it? but do not clamp me, my emperor, with still more grievous fetters, for those which were then unbound encompassed but a part of my body, those which I see before me are of the soul and must press hard on every part of its whole being. You thrust 325 away the ever imminent terror of death, you kindled fresh life in me when dead with fear, you awakened me as though I were born anew. Maintain your bounty, my emperor, that your Agrippa may not bid farewell to life, for it will seem as though my release was not given to save me but that a victim to heavier misfortunes I should come to a more notorious end. The greatest gift of fortune that man can possess 326 you granted to me, a kingdom, in the past of one country, later of another and a greater when you added Trachonitis as it is called and Galilee. Do not after granting me favours in super-abundance take from me bare necessities, and after restoring me to light of fullest radiance cast me anew into deepest darkness. I renounce all that brilliance, I do not 327 beg to keep my shortlived good fortune.^a I exchange all for one thing only, that the ancestral institutions

common use both of *παραιτοῦμαι* and *πρὸ μικροῦ*, but the sentence, if so taken, entirely contradicts what is said in § 323.

- κινήθῃναι τὰ πάτρια. τίς γὰρ ἂν μου γένοιτο λόγος ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις ἢ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις; ἀνάγκη γὰρ δυοῖν θάτερον ἢ προδότην τῶν ἰδίων ἢ σοὶ μηκέτι ὁμοίως φίλον νομισθῆναι· ὦν τί ἂν εἴη μείζον κακόν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐταίρων ἔτι καταριθμοῦμαι, προσδοσίας ἐξοίσομαι δόξαν, εἰ μὴτε ἡ πατρίς ἀπαθῆς παντὸς κακοῦ διαφυλαχθῇ μῆτε τὸ ἱερὸν ἄψανστον· τὰ γὰρ τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ προσπεφευγόντων ταῖς αὐτοκρατορικαῖς ἐπιφανείαις ὑμεῖς οἱ
- 328 μεγάλοι διασώζετε. εἰ δὲ ὑποικουρεῖ τί σου τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχθος, μὴ δήσης ὡς Τιβέριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τοῦ δεθῆναί ποτε αὐθις ἐλπίδα συνανελὼν κέλευσον ἐκποδὼν αὐτίκα γενέσθαι· τί γὰρ ἐμοὶ ζῆν καλόν, ὦ μία σωτηρίας ἐλπίς ἦν τὸ σὸν εὐμενές;”
- 330 XLII. Ταῦτα γράψας καὶ σφραγισάμενος πέμπει Γαῖῳ καὶ συγκλεισάμενος οἴκοι κατέμενε, ἀγωνίων καὶ συγκεχυμένος καὶ πῶς ἐντύχοι¹ μάλιστα φροντίζων· οὐ γὰρ βραχὺς ἐπέρριπτο κίνδυνος, ἀλλ’ ὁ περὶ ἀναστάσεως καὶ ἀνδραποδισμού καὶ παντελοῦς πορθήσεως, οὐ μόνον τοῖς τὴν ἱερὰν χώραν κατοικοῦσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκου-
- 331 μένης Ἰουδαίοις. λαβὼν δὲ καὶ διαναγινώσκων ἐφ’ ἐκάστῳ τῶν νοημάτων ἅμα μὲν ὥδει, μὴ κατορθουμένου τοῦ βουλήματος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ἐπεκλάτο ταῖς δικαιολογίαις ὁμοῦ καὶ δεήσεσι, καὶ τὸν
- 332 Ἀγρίππαν τῇ μὲν ἐπῆνει, τῇ δὲ ἐμέμφετο· ἦτις αὐτὸ μὲν τῆς εἰς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἄγαν ἀρεσκειας
- ¹ A strange use of ἐντυγχάνω. Perhaps, as Mangey, ἂν τύχοι.

^a Or “take shelter under the manifestations.”

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 327-332

be not disturbed. For what would be my reputation among either my compatriots or all other men ? Either I must seem a traitor to my people or no longer be counted your friend as I have been ; there is no other alternative, and what greater ill could befall me than these ? For if I still keep my place 328 in the list of your companions I shall lie under an imputation of treachery, unless my homeland is guarded unscathed from every kind of mischief and the temple is untouched. For you great potentates safeguard the interests of your companions and those who take refuge with you by manifestations of your absolute power.^a But if your mind harbour any 329 hostility to me, do not imprison me as Tiberius did, rather do away with any idea of future imprisonment and at the same time bid me take myself out of the way forthwith. For of what value would life be to me whose one hope of salvation lay in your goodwill ? ”

XLII. Having written and sealed this letter he 330 sent it to Gaius and shut himself up in his house where he remained greatly agitated and distraught, particularly by anxiety about the turn events might take. For the danger which had fallen upon him was no trifle but one which involved the expulsion, enslavement, and wholesale spoliation of the Jews who dwelt not only in the Holy Land but everywhere through the habitable world. Gaius received the 331 letter and, as he read it, its every sentiment filled him with resentment at the ill-success of his project, yet at the same time he began to bend under the claims for justice coupled with supplication. And from one point of view he praised Agrippa and blamed him from another. He charged him with over-complai- 332

PHILO

μόνους ἀνθρώπων ἀφηνιάζοντας καὶ ἐκτρεπομένους αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκθέωσιν, ἐπῆναι δὲ τὸ μηδὲν ἐν ἑαυτῷ συσκιάζειν καὶ ἐπικρύπτειν, ἅπερ ἔλεγεν εἶναι δείγματα ἐλευθεριωτάτων καὶ εὐγενεστάτων ἡθῶν.

333 ἡμερωθεῖς οὖν ὅσα τῷ δοκεῖν ἀποκρίσεων χρηστοτέρων Ἀγρίππαν ἠξίωσε, τὸ ἀνωτάτω καὶ μέγιστον δωρούμενος, τὸ μηκέτι γενέσθαι τὴν ἀνάθεσιν· καὶ Ποπλίῳ Πετρωνίῳ, τῷ τῆς Συρίας ἐπιτρόπῳ, κελεύει γραφῆναι μηδὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔτι νεώτερον κινεῖν.

334 Ὅμως μέντοι καὶ τὴν χάριν διδοὺς ἔδωκεν οὐκ ἀκέραιον, ἀλλ' ἀναμίξας αὐτῇ δέος ἀργαλεώτατον· προσγράφει γάρ· “ ἐὰν δέ τινες ἐν ταῖς ὁμόροις ἔξω μιᾶς τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐθέλοντες βωμοὺς ἢ ἱερὰ ἢ τινας εἰκόνας ἢ ἀνδριάντας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν ἰδρῦεσθαι κωλύωνται, τοὺς εἵργοντας ἢ

335 παραχρῆμα κολάζειν ἢ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνάγειν.” τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν ἕτερον ἢ στάσεως καὶ ἐμφυλίων πολέμων ἀρχὴ καὶ τῆς δωρεᾶς, ἣν ἐπ' εὐθείας ἐδόκει παρασχεῖν, πλάγιός τις ἀναίρεσις· ἔμελλον γὰρ οἱ μὲν κατὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἰουδαίους φιλονεικίαν μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ πρὸς Γάιον εὐσεβὲς καταπλήσειν τὴν χώραν
[595] ἅπασαν | ἀναθημάτων, οἱ δὲ ἐν ὄψεσι ταῖς αὐτῶν τὴν τῶν πατρίων ὀρώντες κατάλυσιν, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἦσαν πραοπαθέστατοι, μὴ ἀνέχεσθαι, Γάιος δὲ τοὺς παρακινηθέντας τιμωρίᾳ κρίνων μεγίστη ἀνατεθῆναι

336 πάλιν κελεύειν τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ. προνοία

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 332-336

sance to his compatriots, who stood alone among mankind in their recalcitrance and refusal to accept his deification. He praised him for disguising and concealing nothing of his real self and this he said proved that he had the characteristics of the truly free and noble. Thus to all appearance mollified he 333 thought good to give kindly answers to Agrippa's request, granting him the chief and principal thing, that the installation should not now take place, and he ordered letters to be sent to Publius Petronius, governor of Syria, that he should forbear to take further steps to violate the tradition of the temple of the Jews.

Nevertheless the concession thus granted by him 334 was not unmixed but had blended with it a very grave cause for alarm. For he added an injunction that if any persons in neighbouring regions outside the capital who wished to set up altars or temples or any images and statues in honour of him or his were prevented from so doing, Petronius was to punish the obstructors at once or send them up to him. Now this was nothing else than a starting point 335 for seditions and civil conflicts and an indirect cancelling of what appeared to be a straightforward gift on his part. For it was to be expected that one party, through hostility to the Jews rather than reverence for Gaius, would fill the whole country with such installations, and the others seeing with their own eyes their ancestral institutions overthrown would not hold their hands even if they were the mildest of men. Then Gaius while awarding the severest punishment to those who had been provoked to violence would again order the statue 336 to be set up in the temple. But by a dispensation

- δέ τινι καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ τοῦ πάντα ἐφορῶντος καὶ
 σὺν δίκῃ πρυτανεύοντος θεοῦ τῶν ὁμόρων παρε-
 κίνησεν οὐδὲν οὐδὲ εἰς, ὥς μὴ χρεῖαν τινὰ γενέσθαι,
 ἢ πρὸ μετριωτέρας μέμψεως ἀπαραίτητος ἔμελλεν
 337 ἀπαντᾶσθαι συμφορά. τί δὲ ὄφελος; εἴποι τις ἄν·
 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡρεμοῦντων ὁ Γάιος ἡρέμει, μετανοῶν
 ἐπὶ τῇ χάριτι ἥδη καὶ τὴν πρὸ μικροῦ ζωπυρῶν
 ἐπιθυμίαν· προστάττει γὰρ ἕτερον ἀνδριάντα δη-
 μιουργεῖσθαι κολοσσιαῖον χαλκοῦν ἐπίχρυσον ἐν
 Ῥώμῃ, μηκέτι τὸν ἐν Σιδῶνι κινῶν, ἵνα μὴ τῇ
 κινήσει διαταράξῃ τὸ πλῆθος, ἀλλ' ἡρεμοῦντος καὶ
 τῆς ὑπονοίας ἀπηλλαγμένου κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν
 ἀφανῶς ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ κομισθέντα λαθὼν τοὺς πολ-
 338 λούς ἐξαίφνης ιδρύσῃται. XLIII. τοῦ-
 το δὲ πράξειν ἔμελλεν ἐν παράπλῳ κατὰ τὴν
 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀποδημίαν. ἄλεκτος γὰρ τις αὐτὸν
 ἔρως κατεῖχε τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας, εἰς ἣν ἐπόθει
 σπουδῇ πάσῃ παραγενέσθαι καὶ ἀφικόμενος πλεῖ-
 στον χρόνον ἐνδικοιτηθῆναι, νομίζων τὴν ἐκθέωσιν,
 ἣν ὠνειροπόλει, μίαν ταύτην πόλιν καὶ γεγεννη-
 κέναι καὶ συναυξήσῃν, καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις παράδειγμα
 γεγενῆσθαι τοῦ σεβασμοῦ, μεγίστην τε οὖσαν καὶ ἐν
 καλῷ τῆς οἰκουμένης· τὰ γὰρ τῶν μεγάλων εἶτε
 ἀνδρῶν εἶτε πόλεων τοὺς καταδεεστέρους ἀνδρας
 339 τε καὶ δῆμους ζηλοῦν ἐπιχειρεῖν. ἦν

^a More literally, "admirably situated for commanding or serving the habitable world." So rather than "in the finest situation in the world" (as Mangey), which would need καλλίστῳ. Thus Stephanus quotes from Lucian (Πλοῖον 15) ἡ οἰκία ἐν καλῷ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομηθεῖσα, but more parallel to the use here is Xen. *Hell.* ix. 2. 9 κείσθαι τὴν Κερκύραν ἐν καλῷ μὲν τοῦ Κορινθιακοῦ κόλπου καὶ τῶν πόλεων αἱ ἐπὶ τοῦτον καθήκουσι, ἐν καλῷ δὲ τοῦ τὴν Λακωνικὴν χώραν βλέπτειν, ἐν

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 336-338

of the providence and watchful care of God, who surveys and presides over all things with justice, not a single person among the neighbours gave any provocation to violence, so that no occasion arose which would entail a calamity passing beyond a moderate censure and against which no prayers would avail. But what was the use of this? one might 337 say, for if they remained quiet, Gaius did not. He was already repenting of his concession and resuscitating his recent desire. He ordered another bronze statue of colossal size coated with gold to be constructed in Rome. The one in Sidon he forbore from moving, for he did not wish to perturb the multitude by moving it, but intended when they were tranquil and freed from suspicion to have the other conveyed very quietly and secretly on shipboard and suddenly erected unobserved by the mass of the population.

XLIII. This he intended to 338 do while coasting along on his voyage to Egypt. For he was possessed by an extraordinary and passionate love for Alexandria. His heart was entirely set upon visiting it and on his arrival staying there for a very considerable time. For he thought this city was unique in that it had both given birth to and would foster the idea of godship which occupied his dreams, and that its vast size and the world-wide value of its admirable situation^a had made it a pattern to other cities of the worship due to him, since it is true both of individual men and of whole populations that the inferior try to emulate the qualities of the great men and cities respectively.

καλλίστῳ δὲ τῆς τε ἀντιπέραν Ἠπείρου καὶ τοῦ εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἀπὸ Σικελίας παράπλου. There the genitives give the places conveniently reached whether for attack or other purposes.

PHILO

- μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τᾶλλα πάντα τὴν φύσιν ἄπιστος,
 ὥς, εἰ καὶ τι χρηστὸν ἐργάσαιτο, μετανοεῖν εὐθὺς
 καὶ τρόπον τινὰ δι' οὗ καὶ ταυτὶ λυθήσεται ζητεῖν
- 340 μετὰ μείζονος ἀνίας καὶ βλάβης. οἷον δὴ τι λέγω·
 δεσμώτας ἔλυσεν ἐνίοις ἐπ' οὐδεμιᾷ προφάσει,
 πάλιν ἔδησε βαρυτέραν τῆς προτέρας ἐπαγαγὼν
- 341 συμφορὰν, τὴν ἐκ δυσελπιστίας. πάλιν κατέγνω
 φυγὴν ἐτέρων θάνατον προσδοκησάντων, οὐκ
 ἐπειδὴ συνήδεσαν αὐτοῖς ἄξια θανάτου πεπραχόσιν
 ἢ συνόλως βραχυτέρας ἡστινοσοῦν τιμωρίας, ἀλλὰ
 διὰ τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν ὠμότητα τοῦ δικαστοῦ μὴ
 προσδοκῶντες ἀποφεύξεσθαι. τούτοις ἔρμαιον ἦν
 ἢ φυγὴ καὶ ἰσότημος καθόδῳ τὸν περὶ ψυχῆς
- 342 ἀνωτάτῳ κίνδυνον ἀποδεδρακέναι νομίζουσιν. ἀλλ'
 οὐ μακρὸς διῆλθε χρόνος, καὶ τῶν στρατευομένων
 ἐπιπέμψας τινάς, μηδεὶνὸς καινοτέρου προσπεσόν-
 τος, τοὺς ἀρίστους καὶ εὐγενεστάτους ἤδη ζῶντας
- [596] ὥς ἐν πατρίσι ταῖς νήσοις καὶ τὴν | ἀτυχίαν
 εὐτιχέστατα φέροντας ἀθρόους ἀνῆρει, πένθος
 οἰκτροτάτον καὶ ἀπροσδόκητον οἴκοις τῶν ἐν
- 343 Ῥώμῃ μεγάλων προσβαλὼν. εἰ δέ τισι καὶ δωρεὰν
 ἔδωκεν ἀργύριον, οὐχ ὥς δάνειον ἀνέπραττε τόκους
 προσεκλέγων καὶ ἐπιτοκίας, ἀλλ' ὥς φώριον μετὰ
 μεγίστης τῶν λαβόντων ζημίας· οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκει
 τὰ δοθέντα τοῖς ἀθλίοις ἀποτιννύειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς
 οὐσίας ὅλας προσεισέφερον, ἃς ἢ παρὰ γονέων ἢ
 παρ' οἰκείων ἢ φίλων ἐκληρονόμουσιν ἢ ποριστὴν

° Here the description of Gaius's conduct, interrupted by the parenthetical section on Alexandria, is resumed. The arrangement by which a new chapter is begun at § 338 is unfortunate.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 339-343

^a In fact in all other matters he was 339 naturally untrustworthy, so that if he did commit any kind action he immediately repented of it and sought some means of cancelling it, thus causing increased affliction and injury. Here is an instance of this 340 sort of thing. He released some prisoners for no reason, and then by imprisoning them again imposed on them a suffering heavier than the former through the bitter disappointment. Again he sentenced 341 others to banishment when they expected death, not because their conscience told them that their action deserved death or even any minor penalty at all, but because in view of the supreme cruelty of their judge they did not expect to get off unpunished. To these banishment was a godsend as good as repatriation, since they felt that they had escaped from the extremity of danger which threatened their lives. But no long time had elapsed when, though no fresh 342 occasion had been given, he sent some of his soldiers on duty to deal with them, and when these men of high excellence and nobility were leading their lives on the islands as though they were their native homes and bearing their misfortunes with the spirit of the favourites of fortune, he proceeded to slaughter them in a body, a blow which brought misery as heartrending as it was unexpected into the households of the great in Rome. So too if he gave a present of money 343 to some he did not treat it as a loan and exact interest and compound interest, but as stolen property entailing very heavy loss for those who took it. For it was not enough for the poor wretches to repay the sums given to them, but they had to contribute as well their whole properties which they inherited from their parents or their relations and friends or

- 344 ἐλόμενοι βίον ἐκτήσαντο αὐτοὶ δι' ἑαυτῶν. οἱ δ' εὐπάρυφοι καὶ σφόδρ' εὐδοκιμεῖν οἰόμενοι τρόπον ἕτερον τὸν σὺν ἡδονῇ μετὰ προσποιήσεως φιλικῆς ἐβλάπτοντο, πάμπολλα μὲν εἰς τὰς ἀκρίτους καὶ ἀτάκτους καὶ ἐξαπιναίους ἀποδημίας ἀναλίσκοντες, πάμπολλα δὲ εἰς τὰς ἐστιάσεις· ὅλας γὰρ οὐσίας ἐξανάλουν εἰς ἑνὸς δείπνου παρασκευήν, ὥς καὶ
- 345 δανείζεσθαι· τοσαύτη τις ἦν ἡ πολυτέλεια. τοιγαροῦν ἀπηύχοντό τινες ἤδη τὰς δεδομένας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χάριτας, ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐκ ὠφέλειαν ἀλλὰ
- 346 δέλεαρ εἶναι καὶ ἐνέδραν ἀφορήτου ζημίας. τοσαύτη μὲν οὖν τις ἡ περὶ τὸ ἦθος ἦν ἀνωμαλία πρὸς ἅπαντας, διαφερόντως δὲ πρὸς τὸ Ἰουδαίων γένος, ᾧ χαλεπῶς ἀπεχθανομένας τὰς μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι προσευχὰς ἀπὸ τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἀρξάμενος σφετερίζεται, καταπλήσας εἰκόνων καὶ ἀνδριάντων τῆς ἰδίας μορφῆς—ὁ γὰρ ἐτέρων ἀνατιθέντων ἐφείς αὐτὸς ἰδρύνετο δυνάμει—, τὸν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἱεροπόλει νεών, ὃς λοιπὸς ἦν ἄφανστος ἀσυλίας ἡξιωμένος τῆς πάσης, μεθρημόζετο καὶ μετεσχημάτιζεν εἰς οἰκεῖον ἱερόν, ἵνα Διὸς Ἐπι-
- 347 φανοῦς Νέου χρηματίζῃ Γαῖου. τί φῆς; σὺ μὲν ἄνθρωπος ὢν αἰθέρα καὶ οὐρανὸν ζητεῖς προσλαβεῖν, οὐκ ἀρκεσθεῖς τῷ πλήθει τῶν τοσούτων ἡπείρων, νήσων, ἐθνῶν, κλιμάτων, ὧν ἀνήψω τὴν ἀρχήν; τὸν δὲ θεὸν οὐδενὸς τῶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀξιοῖς, οὐ χώρας, οὐ πόλεως, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν βραχὺν οὕτως περίβολον αὐτῷ καθιερωθέντα καὶ καθοσιωθέντα χρησιμοῖς καὶ λογίοις θεσφότοις

^a *i.e.* now seen in bodily form. So coins of Antiochus Epiphanes bear the inscription Ἀντιόχου θεοῦ ἐπιφανοῦς. Mangey's suggestion that ἐπιφανής in these cases carries the

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 343-347

by choosing a business career acquired through their own efforts. Dignitaries who considered themselves particularly distinguished suffered in another way which served his pleasure under the guise of friendship. His visits to them made without discretion, or order, or warning, cost them huge sums as did also the entertainments which they gave him. For they used to spend their whole substance on providing a single dinner and so run into debt. So vast was the lavish expenditure. And so some came to the point of deprecating the favours bestowed by him, thinking that they were no benefit but a snare to trap them into losses more than they could bear. This great inconstancy of conduct affected all, but particularly the Jewish race. Having conceived a violent enmity to them he took possession of the synagogues in the other cities after beginning with those of Alexandria, by filling them with images and statues of himself in bodily form. For by permitting others to instal them he virtually did it himself. The temple in the Holy City, which alone was left untouched being judged to have all rights of sanctuary, he was proceeding to convert and transmogrify into a temple of his own to bear the name of Gaius, "the new Zeus made manifest."^a

What is this that you say? do you a mere man seek to annex also ether and heaven, not satisfied with the sum of so many mainlands, islands, nations, regions, over which you assumed sovereignty, and do you deem God worthy of nothing in our world here below, no country, no city, but even this tiny area hallowed for Him and sanctified by oracles and divine messages you propose

same sense as the Latin *praesens*, i.e. powerful and ready to help, is perhaps unnecessary.

PHILO

ἀφελέσθαι διανοῇ, ἵν' ἐν τῷ τῆς τοσαύτης γῆς |
 [597] περιβόλω μηδὲν ἵχνος μηδὲ ὑπόμνημα καταλειφθῇ
 τιμῆς καὶ εὐσεβείας τῆς εἰς τὸν ὄντως ὄντα ἀληθῆ
 348 θεόν; καλὰς ὑπογράφεις τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 ἐλπίδας· ἀγνοεῖς ὅτι πηγὰς ἀνατέμνεις ἀθρόων
 κακῶν, καινουργῶν καὶ μεγαλουργῶν ἃ μήτε δρᾶν
 μήτε λογίζεσθαι θέμις;¹

349 XLIV. Ἄξιον δὲ ἐπιμνησθῆναι καὶ ὧν εἶδομέν
 τε καὶ ἠκούσαμεν μεταπεμφθέντες ἀγωνίσασθαι τὸν
 περὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἀγῶνα. εἰσελθόντες γὰρ εὐθύς
 ἔγνωμεν ἀπὸ τοῦ βλέμματος καὶ τῆς κινήσεως,
 ὅτι οὐ πρὸς δικαστὴν ἀλλὰ κατήγορον ἀφίγμεθα,
 350 τῶν ἀντιτεταγμένων μᾶλλον ἐχθρόν. δικαστοῦ μὲν
 γὰρ ἔργα ταῦτα ἦν· καθίσαι μετὰ συνέδρων ἀρι-
 στίνδην ἐπιλελεγμένων, ἐξεταζομένης ὑποθέσεως
 μεγίστης ἐν τετρακοσίοις ἔτεσιν ἡσυχασθείσης καὶ
 νῦν πρῶτον εἰσαγομένης ἐπὶ μυριάσι πολλαῖς τῶν
 Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἰουδαίων, ἐκατέρωθεν στήναι τοὺς
 ἀντιδίκους μετὰ τῶν συναγορευσόντων, ἐν μέρει
 μὲν ἀκοῦσαι τῆς κατηγορίας, ἐν μέρει δὲ τῆς
 ἀπολογίας πρὸς μεμετρημένον ὕδωρ, ἀναστάντα
 βουλευσασθαι μετὰ τῶν συνέδρων, τί χρὴ φανερώς
 ἀποφῆναι γνῶμῃ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ· τυράννου δὲ
 ἀμειλίκτου δεσποτικὴν ὀφρὺν ἐπανατειναμένου τὰ
 351 πραχθέντα. χωρὶς γὰρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὧν ἀρτίως εἶπον
 ἐργάσασθαι, μεταπεμφάμενος τοὺς δυεῖν κήπων
 ἐπιτρόπους τοῦ τε Μαικίηνα καὶ Λαμία—πλησίον

¹ Reiter here indicated a lacuna. See *Introd.* pp. xii, xxiii.

^a For Josephus's account of this interview see *Ant.* xviii. 8. 1.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 347-351

to take away, so that in the circumference of this great earth no trace or reminder should be left of the reverence and honour due to the truly existing veritable God? Fine hopes are these which you 348 picture for the human race. Know you not that you are opening the springs of a flood of evil, in these strange and monstrous actions which it is unlawful either to do or conceive?

XLIV. It is right that I should record also both what 349 we saw and what we heard when we were summoned to take a part in the contention about our citizenship.^a The moment we entered we knew from his look and movements that we had come into the presence not of a judge but of an accuser more hostile than those arrayed against us. For this is what a judge would 350 do: he would sit with assessors selected for their high merit, as the case under examination was of the greatest importance, since nothing had been heard of it for four centuries and it was now for the first time brought up against the many myriads of the Alexandrian Jews^b: the opposing parties would stand on either side of him with the advocates who would speak for them, and he would listen in turn to the accusation and the defence for the space of water-time allowed! then he would rise and consult with his assessors as to the verdict which in full accordance with justice they would publicly declare. The actual proceedings showed a ruthless tyrant with a menacing frown on his despotic brow. Instead 351 of doing anything that I have just mentioned he sent for the stewards of the two gardens belonging to Maecenas and Lamia near to each other and the

^b See *Introd.* pp. xxvi ff.

PHILO

δέ εἰσιν ἀλλήλων τε καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐν οἷς ἐκ
 τριῶν ἢ τεττάρων ἡμερῶν διέτριβε· κείθι γὰρ ἐπὶ
 παροῦσιν ἡμῖν ἢ κατὰ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους ἔμελλε
 σκηνοβατεῖσθαι δραματοποιία—κελεύει τὰς ἐπαύ-
 λεις αὐτῷ πάσας περιανοιχθῆναι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ
 352 μετὰ ἀκριβείας ἐκάστην ἰδεῖν. ἡμεῖς δὲ ὡς αὐτὸν
 εἰσαχθέντες ἅμα τῷ θεάσασθαι μετ' αἰδοῦς καὶ
 εὐλαβείας τῆς ἀπάσης νεύοντες εἰς τοῦδαφος ἔδε-
 ξιούμεθα, Σεβαστὸν Αὐτοκράτορα προσειπόντες·
 ὁ δὲ οὕτως ἐπιεικῶς καὶ φιλανθρώπως ἀντιπροση-
 γόρευσεν, ὡς μὴ μόνον τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ
 353 ζῆν ἀπογνῶναι. σαρκάζων γὰρ ἅμα καὶ σεσηρῶς,
 “ ὑμεῖς,” εἶπεν, “ ἐστὲ οἱ θεομισεῖς, οἱ θεὸν μὴ
 νομίζοντες εἶναί με, τὸν ἤδη παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις
 ἀνωμολογημένον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀκατονόμαστον ὑμῖν; ”
 καὶ ἀνατείνας τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἐπεφήμιζε
 πρόσρησιν, ἣν οὐδὲ ἀκούειν θεμιτόν, οὐχ ὅτι
 354 διερμηνεύειν αὐτολεξεί. πόσης εὐθύς ἀνεπλήσθησαν
 ἡδονῆς οἱ τῆς ἐναντίας μερίδος πρέσβεις, ἡδὴ
 κατωρθωκέναι διὰ τῆς πρώτης ἀναφθέγγεως Γαῖου
 τὴν πρεσβείαν νομίζοντες· ἐπεχειρονόμουν, ἀνωρ-
 [598] χοῦντο, | τὰς θεῶν ἀπάντων ἐπωνυμίας ἐπεφήμιζον
 355 αὐτῷ. XLV. γανύμενον δὲ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπίνην
 φύσιν προσήρῃσει θεασάμενος ὁ πικρὸς συκοφάντης
 Ἰσίδωρος, “ ἔτι μᾶλλον,” ἔφη, “ δέσποτα, μισήσεις
 τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ὦν εἰσιν ὁμόφυλοι, ἐὰν
 γνῶς τὴν εἰς σέ κακόνοιαν αὐτῶν καὶ ἀσέβειαν·
 ἀπάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῆς σῆς
 θυσίας ἀναγόντων εὐχαριστηρίους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν
 οὗτοι μόνοι θύειν· ὅταν δὲ οὗτοι λέγω, καὶ τοὺς

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 351-355

city, in which gardens he had been spending three or four days. For this was the stage where the tragedy which was aimed against our whole nation was to be performed with us who were present as the immediate victims. He ordered them to leave all the villas completely open as he wished to make a careful survey of each of them. When we were brought into his presence the moment we saw him we bowed our heads to the ground with all respect and timidity and saluted him addressing him as Emperor Augustus. The mildness and kindness with which he replied to our greeting was such that we gave up not only our case but our lives for lost ! In a sneering, snarling way he said, " Are you the god-haters who do not believe me to be a god, a god acknowledged among all the other nations but not to be named by you ? " And stretching out his hands towards heaven he gave utterance to an invocatory address which it was a sin even to listen to, much more to reproduce in the actual words. How vast was the delight which at once filled the envoys on the other side ! They thought that Gaius's first utterance had secured the success of their mission. They gesticulated, they danced about and invoked blessings on him under the names of all the gods. XLV. Seeing that he was delighted at being addressed as of more than human nature the virulent sycophant Isidorus said, " My lord, you will hate still more these people here present, and those of whose nation they are, if you understand their malevolence and impiety towards you. For when all men were offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for your preservation they alone could not bear the thought of sacrificing. And when I say ' they ' I include also

- 356 ἄλλους Ἰουδαίους συμπαλαμβάνω.” ἀναβοη-
 σάντων δὲ ἡμῶν ὁμοθυμαδόν, “ κύριε Γάιε, συ-
 κοφαντούμεθα· καὶ γὰρ ἐθύσαμεν καὶ ἐκατόμβας
 ἐθύσαμεν, οὐ τὸ μὲν αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ περισπείσαντες
 τὰ δὲ κρέα εἰς θοίνην καὶ εὐωχίαν οἴκαδε κομί-
 σαντες, ὡς ἔθος ἐνίοις ποιεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὁλόκαυτα τὰ
 ἱερεῖα παραδόντες τῇ ἱερᾷ φλογί, καὶ τρίς, οὐχ
 ἅπαξ, ἥδη· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτε διεδέξω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν,
 δεύτερον δὲ ὅτε τὴν βαρεῖαν νόσον ἐκείνην ἣν πᾶσα
 ἡ οἰκουμένη συνενόσησεν ἐξέφυγες, τρίτον δὲ κατὰ
 357 τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς Γερμανικῆς νίκης,” “ ἔστω,” φησί,
 “ ταῦτα ἀληθῆ, τεθύκατε, ἀλλ’ ἑτέρω, κἂν ὑπὲρ
 ἐμοῦ· τί οὖν ὄφελος; οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τεθύκατε.”
 φρίκη βύθιος εὐθύς κατέσχευεν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ προτέρῳ
 καὶ τοῦτο ἀκούσαντας, ἣ καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἐπιφανείας
 358 ἀνεχύθη. καὶ ταῦθ’ ἅμα λέγων ἐπῆει τὰς ἐπαύλεις,
 ἀνδρῶνας κατανοῶν, γυναικωνίτιδας, τὰ ἐν ἐπι-
 πέδῳ, τὰ ὑπερῶα, ἅπαντα, αἰτιώμενος ἐνίας ὡς
 ἐλλιπεῖς κατασκευάς, ἐτέρας ἐπινοῶν καὶ προσδια-
 359 τάττων πολυτελεστέρας αὐτός. εἶτα ἡμεῖς ἐλαυνό-
 μενοι παρηκολουθοῦμεν ἄνω κάτω, χλευαζόμενοι
 καὶ κατακερτομούμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ὡς
 ἐν θεατρικοῖς μίμοις· καὶ γὰρ τὸ πρᾶγμα μιμεία
 τις ἦν· ὁ μὲν δικαστὴς ἀνειλήφει σχῆμα κατηγόρου,
 οἱ δὲ κατήγοροι φαύλου δικαστοῦ πρὸς ἔχθραν
 ἀποβλέποντος, ἀλλ’ οὐ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθείας.
 360 ὅταν δὲ αἰτιᾶται κρινόμενον δικαστῆς καὶ τοσοῦτος,

¹ MSS. καὶ οὐ καὶ οὐχ.

* As sacrifices could only be offered in Jerusalem, they must mean by “we” the Jewish nation, or else (less probably) that the contributions of money which they sent there were

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 355-360

the other Jews." We cried out with one accord, 356
" Lord Gaius, we are slandered ; we did sacrifice
and sacrifice hecatombs too, and we did not just pour
the blood upon the altar and then take the flesh home
to feast and regale ourselves with it as some do, but
we gave the victims to the sacred fire to be entirely
consumed, and we have done this not once but thrice
already, the first time at your accession to the
sovereignty, the second when you escaped the severe
sickness which all the habitable world suffered with
you, the third as a prayer of hope for victory in
Germany." ^a " All right," he replied, " that is true, 357
you have sacrificed, but to another, even if it was for
me ; what good is it then ? For you have not sacrificed
to me." When we heard these words following on
his first remark we were seized by a profound terror
which spread till it became visible in the countenance.
While he was saying this he was going on with his 358
survey of the houses, the different chambers, men's
or women's, the ground floors, the upper floors, all of
them, and some he censured as defective in structure,
and for others he made his own plans and gave orders
that they should be more magnificent. Then driven 359
along we followed him up and down mocked and re-
viled by our adversaries, as they do in the mimes at
the theatres. For indeed the business was a sort of
mime ; the judge had taken on the rôle of accuser, the
accusers the rôle of a bad judge who had eyes only
for his enmity and not for the actual truth. But 360
when the person on trial is accused by a judge and

accompanied with instructions that they were to be applied
to pay for sacrifices for these particular purposes, *cf.* § 232.
For the bearing of the statement about the German victory
the chronology see *Introd.* p. xxvii.

ἀνάγκη σιωπᾶν· ἔστι γάρ πως καὶ δι' ἡσυχίας ἀπολογεῖσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς οὐδέν ὧν ἐπεζήτει καὶ ἐπεπόθει δυναμένους ἀποκρίνασθαι, τῶν ἐθῶν καὶ νομίμων τὴν γλῶτταν ἐπεχόντων καὶ τὸ στόμα
 361 κλειόντων καὶ ἀπορραπτόντων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἓνα τῶν περὶ τὰς οἰκοδομὰς διατάξατο, μέγιστον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐρώτημα ἠρώτα· “διὰ τί χοιρείων κρεῶν ἀπέχεσθε;” πάλιν πρὸς τὴν πεῦσιν γέλως ἐκ τῶν ἀντιδίκων κατερράγη τοσοῦτος, τῇ μὲν ἡδομένων τῇ δὲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεύοντων ἔνεκα κολακείας ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὸ λεχθὲν δοκεῖν σὺν εὐτραπελίᾳ καὶ χάριτι εἰρησθαι, ὥς τινα τῶν ἐπομένων αὐτῷ θεραπόντων
 [599] | ἀγανακτεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονητικῶς ἔχειν αὐτοκράτορος, ἐφ’ οὗ καὶ τὸ μετρίως μειδιάσαι τοῖς μὴ
 362 πάνυ συνήθεσιν οὐκ ἀσφαλές. ἀποκριναμένων δὲ ἡμῶν, ὅτι “νόμιμα παρ’ ἑτέροις ἕτερα καὶ χρήσις ἐνίων ὥς ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἀντιδίκους ἀπείρηται,” καὶ φάμενου τινός, “ὥς πολλοί γε καὶ τὰ προχειρότατα ἀρνία οὐ προσφέρονται,” γελάσας, “εὖ γε,” εἶπεν,
 363 “ἔστι γὰρ οὐχ ἡδέα.” τοιαῦτα φλυαρηθέντες καὶ κατακερτομηθέντες ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦμεν. εἶτα ὁψέ ποτε παρασεσυρμένως, “βουλόμεθα μαθεῖν,” ἔφη,
 364 “τίσι χρήσθε περὶ τῆς πολιτείας δικαίοις.” ἀρξαμένων δὲ λέγειν καὶ διδάσκειν, ἀπογευσάμενος τῆς δικαιολογίας καὶ συνεὶς ὥς οὐκ ἔστιν εὐκαταφρόνητος, πρὶν ἐπενεγκεῖν τὰ ἐχυρώτερα, συγκόψας καὶ τὰ πρότερα δρομαῖος εἰς τὸν μέγαν οἶκον εἰσ-
 ἐπήδησε καὶ περιελθὼν προστάττει τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ θυρίδας ἀναληφθῆναι τοῖς ὑάλῳ λευκῇ παραπλη-

^a The imperfects ἐπεζήτει and ἐπεπόθει show that we have here a sudden transition from the general to the particular. We have had an exact parallel in *Flaccus* 118.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 360-364

that one of such eminence, he must needs hold his peace. For silence too may in a way serve as a defence, particularly to us ^a who could not answer any of the points which he was investigating and wished to press, because our customs and laws muzzled the tongue and closed and stitched up the mouth. But ³⁶¹ after giving some of his orders about the buildings he put to us this grave and momentous question, "Why do you refuse to eat pork?" The question was greeted by another outburst of laughter from some of our opponents because they were delighted, while with others it was a studied attempt to flatter him, intended to make the remark seem witty and sprightly. The laughter was so great that some of the servants following him were annoyed at it as showing disrespect for the emperor, with whom even a tempered smile is unsafe except for quite intimate friends. We answered, "Different people have different ³⁶² customs and the use of some things is forbidden to us as others are to our opponents." Then someone said, "Yes, just as many don't eat lamb which is so easily obtainable," whereupon Gaius laughed and said, "Quite right too, for it's not nice." Under such befooling and reviling we were helpless. ³⁶³ Then tardily going on a different tack ^b he said, "We want to hear what claims you make about your citizenship." We started to speak and give him the ³⁶⁴ information; but when he had had a taste of our pleading and recognized that it was by no means contemptible, he cut short our earlier points before we could bring in the stronger ones, and dashed at high speed into the large room of the house, and walked round it and ordered the windows all round

^b Or "with a sarcastic air."

- σίως διαφανέσι λίθοις, οἱ τὸ μὲν φῶς οὐκ ἐμποδίζουσιν, ἄνεμον δὲ εἴργουσι καὶ τὸν ἄφ' ἡλίου φλογμόν. εἶτα προελθὼν ἄνευ σπουδῆς
 365 μετριώτερον ἀνηρώτα· “τί λέγετε;” συνείρειν δὲ ἀρξαμένων τὰ ἀκόλουθα, εἰστρέχει πάλιν εἰς ἕτερον οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ γραφὰς ἀρχετύπους ἀνατεθῆναι
 366 προσέταττεν. οὕτω τῶν ἡμετέρων σπαραττομένων καὶ διαρτωμένων καὶ μόνον οὐ συγκοπτομένων καὶ συντριβομένων δικαίων, ἀπειρηκότες καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι σθένοντες, αἰὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ θάνατον προσδοκῶντες, οὐκέτι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶχομεν, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀγωνίας ἔξω προεληλύθεσαν ἰκετεύειν τὸν ἀληθινὸν θεόν, ἵνα τοῦ ψευδωνύμου τὰς ὀργὰς
 367 ἐπίσχη. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν οἶκτον ἡμῶν τρέπει τὸν θυμὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἔλεον· καὶ ἀνεθείς πρὸς τὸ μαλακώτερον, τοσοῦτον εἰπὼν, “οὐ πονηροὶ μᾶλλον ἢ δυστυχεῖς εἶναι μοι δοκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀνόητοι μὴ πιστεύοντες, ὅτι θεοῦ κεκληρῶμαι φύσιν,” ἀπαλλάττεται προστάξας καὶ ἡμῖν ἀπέρχεσθαι.
- 368 XLVI. Τοιοῦτον ἀντὶ δικαστηρίου θέατρον ὁμοῦ καὶ δεσμωτήριον ἐκφυγόντες—ὥς μὲν γὰρ ἐν θεάτρῳ κλωσμός συριπτόντων, καταμωκωμένων, ἄμετρα χλευαζόντων, ὥς δὲ ἐν εἰρκτῇ πληγαὶ κατὰ τῶν σπλάγχχνων φερόμεναι, βάσανοι, κατατάσεις τῆς ὅλης ψυχῆς διὰ τε τῶν εἰς τὸ θεῖον βλασφημιῶν καὶ διὰ τῶν ἐπανατάσεων, ἃς τοσοῦτος
 [600] αὐτοκράτωρ | ἐπανετείνητο, μνησικακῶν οὐ περὶ ἑτέρου, ῥαδίως γὰρ ἂν μετέβαλεν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς τὴν ἐκθέωσιν ἐπιθυμίας, ἥ μόνους ὑπελάμβανε μῆτε συναινεῖν Ἰουδαίους μῆτε δύνασθαι
 369 συνυπογράψασθαι—μόλις ἀνεπνεύσαμεν, οὐκ
 182

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 364-369

to be restored with transparent stones, which in the same way as white glass do not obstruct the light but keep off the wind and the scorching sun. Then 365 he advanced in a leisurely way and said in a more moderate tone, "What is it that you say?" and when we began on the points which came next in the thread of our argument he ran again into another room and ordered original pictures to be put up there. So with the statement of our case thus mangled and 366 disjointed, one may almost say cut short and crushed to pieces, we gave up, for there was no strength left in us, and since we all the time expected nothing else but death, in our deep distress our souls had passed from within us and went forth to supplicate the true God that he should restrain the wrath of the pretender to that name. And God taking compassion on 367 us turned his spirit to mercy; he relaxed into a softer mood and said just this, "They seem to me to be people unfortunate rather than wicked and to be foolish in refusing to believe that I have got the nature of a god," and saying this he went off bidding us be gone also.

XLVI. Such was this combination of a theatre 368 and a prison in place of a tribunal, theatre-like in the cackling of their hisses, their mockery and unbounded jeering, prison-like in the strokes inflicted on our flesh, the torture, the racking of the whole soul through the blasphemies against God and menaces launched upon us by this mighty despot, who resented the affront not to another, since then he might easily have changed his mind, but to himself and his desire of the deification to which he supposed the Jews alone did not assent and could not pledge themselves to subscribe. From this prison we had 369

- ἐπειδὴ φιλοζωοῦντες θάνατον κατεπτήχειμεν, ὃν ἄσμενοι καθάπερ ἀθανασίαν εἰλόμεθα ἂν, εἰ δὴ τι τῶν νομίμων ἔμελλεν ἐπανόρθωσιν ἔξειν, ἀλλ' εἰδότες ἐπ' οὐδενὶ λυσιτελεῖ παρανάλωμα γενησόμενοι μετὰ πολλῆς δυσκλείας· ἃ γὰρ ἂν πρέσβεις ὑπομένωσιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πέμψαντας λαμβάνει τὴν
- 370 ἀναφοράν. τούτων μὲν δὴ χάριν ἐπὶ ποσὸν ἐδυνήθημεν ἀνακύψαι, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἐφόβει διεπτοημένους καὶ ἀποροῦντας, τί γινώσεται, τί ἀποφανεῖται, ποταπὴ γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ κρίσις· ἤκουσε γὰρ τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ὃς πραγμάτων ἐνίων παρήκουσεν; ἐν ἡμῖν δὲ πέντε πρεσβευταῖς σαλεύειν τὰ τῶν πανταχοῦ πάντων Ἰουδαίων οὐ χαλεπόν;
- 371 εἰ γὰρ χαρίσαιο τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐχθροῖς, τίς ἑτέρα πόλις ἡρεμήσει; τίς οὐκ ἐπιθήσεται τοῖς συνοικοῦσι; τίς ἀπαθὴς καταλειφθήσεται προσευχῇ; ποῖον πολιτικὸν οὐκ ἀνατραπήσεται δίκαιον τοῖς κοσμουμένοις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῶν Ἰουδαίων; ἀνατετράψεται, ναυαγήσει, κατὰ βυθοῦ χωρήσει καὶ τὰ ἐξαίρετα νόμιμα καὶ τὰ κοινὰ πρὸς ἐκάστας
- 372 τῶν πόλεων αὐτοῖς δίκαια. τοιούτοις ὑπέραντλοι γενόμενοι λογισμοῖς ὑπεσυρόμεθα καταποντούμενοι· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τέως συμπράττειν ἡμῖν δοκοῦντες ἀπειρήκεσαν· καλουμένων γοῦν, ἔνδον ὄντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλ' ὑπεξῆλθον διὰ φόβον ἀκριβῶς

^a See *Flacc.* 12 and note.

^b Balsdon, who translates (p. 161) "for he heard our case though he paid no attention to some of the facts," whence he infers that Philo is compelled to admit that Gaius gave a hearing to the Jewish arguments, is, I think, certainly wrong. The question mark appended both by Mangey and Reiter is necessitated by ὃς, which cannot bear the sense which Balsdon gives it.

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 369-372

escaped and were just able to breathe again, not because we clung to life and cringed from death, which we would gladly have chosen as being immortality, if thereby we were going to get restoration of our institutions, but because we knew that we should prove to have thrown ourselves away for no useful purpose^a and to our great discredit. For whatever ambassadors suffer recoils upon those who sent them. For the above reasons we were able to 370 lift our heads above water to some extent but the other circumstances alarmed us in our trepidation and suspense as to what he would decide, what verdict he would declare, on what grounds the judgement would be given. For had a hearing been given to our case by him who heard some points only to misunderstand?^b Surely it was a cruel situation that the fate of all the Jews everywhere should rest precariously on us five envoys. For if he should 371 decide in favour of our enemies, what other city will keep tranquil or refrain from attacking its fellow inhabitants, what house of prayer will be left unscathed, what kind of civic rights will not be upset for those whose lot is cast under the ancient institutions of the Jews? First upset, then shipwrecked, then sunk to the very bottom will be both their peculiar laws and the rights which they enjoy in common in every city. Waterlogged by such con- 372 siderations we were dragged down and submerged in the depths, for those who hitherto seemed to be acting with us gave up. At least when we were summoned^c they did not stay in and hold their ground but slunk away in fear, knowing full well

^a Or perhaps "when we called upon them," which gives better sense, though with poorer grammar, *cf.* note on § 221.

PHILO

ἐπιστάμενοι τὸν ἥμερον, ᾧ κέχρητο πρὸς τὸ νομί-
ζεσθαι θεός.

- 373 Εἴρηται μὲν οὖν κεφαλαιωδέστερον ἡ αἰτία τῆς
πρὸς ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος ἀπεχθείας Γαΐου·
λεκτέον δὲ καὶ τὴν παλινωδίαν.¹

¹ ? παλινωδίαν. See note a.

^a "Counter-story" or "reversal." Presumably this gave an account of Gaius's death and probably also the change of policy adopted by Claudius, as shown in the two edicts recorded by Josephus, *Ant.* xix. 5. If, that is, it was ever written, for it is curious that Eusebius in his brief notice of

THE EMBASSY TO GAIUS, 372-373

the longing which he cherished for being acknowledged as a god.

So now I have told in a summary way the cause 373 of the enmity which Gaius had for the whole nation of the Jews, but I must also describe the palinode.^a

the *Legatio*, see Introd. pp. xvii, shows no knowledge of it. But the word is an odd one, for though Philo uses *παλινοφθεῖν*="repeat" in *De Mut.* 53, the noun itself is only cited in the sense of recantation. Cf. in Philo himself *De Post.* 179, *De Som.* ii. 232. The only sense in which the story of these events would be a recantation would be that it would force the doubters of providence to recant. I think *παλινοδία*, said by Suidas to=*ἐναντία ὁδός*, would be a more natural word.

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Pentateuch ^a : I. Gen. Introd. p. xiii n, IV. *Mig.* 184n, V. *Mut.* 216n, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. ix, xi, xvi, xvii, *Mos.* i. 290n, ii. 26-44[N], 47n & [N], 65[N], VII. Gen. Introd. pp. x, xi, xiv, xv, *Spec. Leg.* i. 1n, 71[N], 79[N], 180[N], ii. 28n, 176n, 243n, iii. 64n, 110n, 120[N], 149[N], VIII. Gen. Introd. pp. xv, xix(xx) n, xx, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2[N], 51n, *Virt.* 28[N], 44[N], 122[N], *Praem.* 78[N], 87[N], 171[N], IX. Gen. Introd. p. v, *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd. pp. 2, 3, 5, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 57 & n, 70[N], *Vit. Cont.* 25[N], 65[N],

^a These general references to the Pentateuch include those made to "the Law."

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Hypoth. Introd. pp. 407 & n-411, 7.
1n, 7. 5n, 7. 6n, 7. 7n, *De Prov.*
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^a In these passages Philo bases his argument upon the use of the plural in "Let us make man . . ."

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^a Where the A.V. has "unto the plain of Moreh" the LXX reads ἐπὶ τὴν δροὺν τὴν ὑψηλὴν. R.V. "unto the oak of Moreh."

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^a Where the EV have "an officer of Pharaoh's, captain of the guard" the LXX reads *ὁ εὐνοῦχος Φαραὼ ὁ ἀρχιμάγειρος*, "the eunuch of Pharaoh and chief cook."

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- 37. VI. *Mos.* i. 147 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 146 & n
- 38. IV. *Mig.* 152-155, 158, 163 & n, VI. *Mos.* i. 147 & n
- 39. II. *Sac.* 62 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 158 & n
- 48. VIII. *Virt.* 104n

- xiii. 1, 2. IV. *Quis Her.* 117, 118 & n, 119
- 2. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 137f
- 11-13. II. *Sac.* 89-117
- 11. II. *Sac.* 89-101 & n
- 12. II. *Sac.* 102-112
- 13. II. *Sac.* 112 & n-117
- 17-22. VI. *Mos.* i. 163-166
- 19. V. *Som.* ii. 109

- xiv. VI. *Mos.* i. 167-179, ii. 247-257, VIII. *Praem.* 78[N]
- 7. III. *Ebr.* 111
- 14. V. *Som.* ii. 265
- 14, 15. IV. *Quis Her.* 14 & n, 15
- 20. IV. *Quis Her.* 203
- 27. IV. *Conf.* 70 & [N]
- 30. IV. *Conf.* 35-37, V. *Som.* ii. 279 & n-282

- ^a xv. VII. *Decal.* 15, 16 & n, 17
- ^a Called "The Song": III. *Agr.* 81, *Plant.* 48, V. *Som.* ii. 269. Cf. II. *Post.* 167n, III. *Sob.* 10n, V. *Mut.* 182n.

1. I. *Leg. All.* ii. 102, III. *Agr.* 80-83, 81[N], *Ebr.* 111, *Sob.* 13, V. *Som.* ii. 269, VI. *Mos.* i. 180
4. III. *Ebr.* 79 & n, 111
5. VI. *Mos.* ii. 252 & n
8. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 172
9. II. *Cher.* 74-78
10. VI. *Mos.* ii. 252 & n
17. III. *Plant.* 46-55, IV. *Congr.* 57
18. III. *Plant* 46-55
- 20, 21. III. *Agr.* 80-83, 81[N], VI. *Mos.* i. 180
- 22-26. IV. *Congr.* 163-166, 164n, VI. *Mos.* i. 181-187
23. II. *Post.* 155
25. II. *Post.* 156, IV. *Mig.* 36f
27. V. *Fug.* 183-187, VI. *Mos.* i. 188-190

- xvi. I. Gen. Introd. p. xi, VI. *Mos.* i. 191-208, ii. 258-269, VII. *Decal.* 15, 16 & n, 17
4. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 162-168, V. *Fug.* 137f, *Mut.* 258-260
13. VI. *Mos.* i. 209 & n
- 13-15. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 169-176, 171n
- 15, 16. I. Gen. Introd. p. xi, V. *Fug.* 137-139 & n
18. IV. *Quis Her.* 191 & n
23. V. *Mut.* 260n, VI. *Mos.* ii. 219n
31. II. *Det.* 118 & [N]
36. IV. *Congr.* 100f

- xvii. VI. *Mos.* i. 210-219
- 1-7. VI. *Mos.* i. 210f
6. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 4, II. *Sac.* 67f, IV. *Conf.*

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- 138, *Mig.* 183, V. *Som.* i. 241, ii. 221
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- 8-16. VI. *Mos.* i. 214 & n-219 & n, VIII.
Virt. 22n
11. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 186
12. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 45, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.*
Intro. p. 5n, 29 & n
14. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 187
15. VI. *Mos.* i. 219 & n
- xviii. III. *Ebr.* 37, V. *Mut.* 104 & n, VI. *Gen.*
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275 & n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 170-175
1. V. *Mut.* 106
4. IV. *Quis Her.* 59f
7. IV. *Quis Her.* 44 & n
- 9-11. II. *Gig.* 50, V. *Mut.* 105
11. III. *Ebr.* 41-45
14. II. *Gig.* 50f
16. III. *Ebr.* 37
17. V. *Mut.* 104 & n
21. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 171 & n
25. IV. *Congr.* 110
26. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 197
- xix. 6. III. *Sob.* 66 & n, VI. *Abr.* 56
8. IV. *Conf.* 58f
13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 144n
- ^a 14-19. VII. *Decal.* 44-49
16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 189
17. V. *Som.* i. 71
18. IV. *Quis Her.* 251, VII. *Decal.* 44 & n-49

^a In the footnote (a) to *Decal.* 44 the reference is wrongly
given as ch. xx. 14-19.

19. IV. *Quis Her.* 17f
 20. II. *Cher.* 114[N]
 24. II. *Post.* 136
 33, 34. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 51f
- xx. 1-17. (The Ten Commandments), IV. *Quis Her.* 168-173, *Congr.* 120, VII, VIII. *Decal.*, *Spec. Leg.* i-iv
 2, 3. ^a 1st : IV. *Congr.* 133[N], V. *Mut.* 23f, VII. *Decal.* 52-65, 155, *Spec. Leg.* i. 12-20, 256
 4-6. 2nd : VII. *Decal.* 66-81, 156, *Spec. Leg.* i. 21-31, 255
 5. III. *Sob.* 48
 7. 3rd : VII. *Decal.* 82-95, 157, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 2-38, 27n, 252-254
 8-11. 4th : I. *Op.* 128, VII. *Decal.* 96-105, 158-164, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 39-222 (esp. 39, 56-70 & n), 249-251
 10. II. *Cher.* 87-90, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 70 & n
 12. 5th : II. *Det.* 52-56, VII. *Decal.* 106-120, 165-167, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 224-248
^b 13 (EV 14). 7th (Adultery ; LXX, Philo, 6th) : VII. *Decal.* 121-131, 168f, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 8 & n-82 ^c

^a Not only does the LXX have a different order from the Hebrew and English, but there are two versions of the order in the LXX itself: Philo at this point follows the same order as that of Deuteronomy v.

^b There are three variations of the order. In the Hebrew and English it is murder, adultery, theft. In the LXX of Exodus it is, as shown above, adultery, theft, murder. In the LXX of Deut. v, and in Philo it is, adultery, murder, theft.

^c The Translator's note is not in keeping with the order of the text adopted by Swete.

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- ^a 14 (EV 15). 8th (Theft; LXX 7th, Philo 8th): VII. *Decal.* 135-137, 171, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 1-40
- ^a 15 (EV 13). 6th (Murder; LXX 8th, Philo 7th): VII. *Decal.* 132-134, 170, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 83-209
- 16. 9th: VII. *Decal.* 138-141, 172, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 41-77
- 17. 10th: VII. *Decal.* 142-153, 173f, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 78-131
- ^b 18. IV. *Mig.* 47, VI. *Mos.* ii. 213 & n, VII. *Decal.* (32-35), 44-49, 47n
- 19. II. *Post.* 143f, IV. *Quis Her.* 19, V. *Som.* i. 143
- 21. II. *Post.* 14, *Gig.* 54, V. *Mut.* 7 & [N], *Som.* i. 186-188[N]
- 23. I. *Leg. All.* i. 51, IV. *Congr.* 159 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 21-31, 22nn
- 24. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 215
- 25. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 273 & n
- 26. V. *Som.* ii. 67

- xxi. 2. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 79n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 4n
- 2, 3. VIII. *Virt.* 122[N]
- 5, 6. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 198f, II. *Cher.* 72 & n, 73, IV. *Quis Her.* 186 & n
- 10. IV. *Mig.* 105 & n
- 12-14. V. *Fug.* 53-82
- 12. V. *Fug.* 53-64 (esp. 53-55), VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 83f

^a See note *b* on previous page.

^b In the footnote (*b*) to *Decal.* 47 the reference is wrongly given as ch. xix. 18.

13. II. *Sac.* 133, IV. *Conf.* 160f, V. *Fug.* 65f, 75 & n, 76, 86, 93, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 120 & n & [N]-122
14. IV. *Conf.* 160f, V. *Fug.* 77-82, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 86 & n & [N]-91
- 15, 17 (LXX 16). V. *Fug.* 83-86, VII. *Spec. Leg.* 243 & n-248 & n
- 16 (LXX 17). VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 13 & n & [N]-19
- 18, 19. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 105, 106 & n & [N], 107, 120[N]
- 20, 21. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 137-143 & nn
- 22, 23. IV. *Congr.* 136-138 & nn, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 108 & n & [N], 109 & [N], 110 & n-119
- ^a 23-25. (the ius talionis) VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 181-204
- 26, 27. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 184, 195-203
- 28-32. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 144, 145 & n
- 33, 34. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 147 & n, 148 & [N]
- 35, 36. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 144-146 & nn
- xxii. 1-4. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2n (p. 8, n. a)
1. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 11 & n & [N]
2. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 7 & n & [N]
- 2, 3. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 32 & [N]-35
3. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 3 & n
4. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2 & n & [N]
5. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 22 & n-25
6. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 248-250, IV. *Quis Her.* 296, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 26-29 & n
7. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2n, 30-33
8. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 34 & nn
- ^a Cf. Lev. xxiv. 19-21, Deut. xix. 21.

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9. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2n
 - 9-13. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 36 & n
 - 14, 15. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 37 & n, 38
 - 16, 17. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 65 & n-70
 18. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 93 & n-103, 94n, 102n
 19. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43-45
 22. IV. *Congr.* 178 & n, 179
 25. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 74 & n-78, VIII. *Virt.* 82-85
 - 26, 27. II. *Gig.* 53[N], V. *Som.* i. 92-114
 28. VI. *Mos.* ii. 203n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 53 & n, IX *Hypoth.* 7. 4n
 29. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 134 & n, 137f
 30. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 135f, VIII. *Virt.* 126n
 31. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 119 & n-121
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- xxiii. 1. IV. *Conf.* 141, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 44n, 59-61
 2. III. *Ebr.* 25f, IV. *Mig.* 61f, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 44n, 45-47
 3. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 72 & n-77
 - 4, 5. VIII. *Virt.* 116, 117 & n-120
 7. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 44n
 8. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 62 & n-69, 169
 - 10, 11. IV. *Mig.* 32 & [N], VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 86-109, VIII. *Virt.* 97 & n, 98
 13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 256 & nn
 14. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 181 & n
 16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 183n & [N]
 - ^a 19. II. *Sac.* 72-75, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 134, VIII. *Virt.* 142-144
 20. III. *Agr.* 51f, IV. *Mig.* 174 & [N]

^a The verse occurs again at xxxiv. 26.

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 26. VIII. *Praem.* 108 & n-111
 28. VIII. *Praem.* 96
- xxiv. 1. IV. *Mig.* 168, 169 & n, 170, 201, V. *Mut.* 125f
 6. IV. *Quis Her.* 182-185
 10. IV. *Conf.* 96 & n, 97, V. *Som.* i. 62, ii. 222
 11. IV. *Conf.* 56 & n, VIII. *Virt.* 44[N]
 16, 17. V. *Som.* i. 186[N]
 18. V. *Som.* i. 36, VI. *Mos.* ii. 70 & n
- xxv. 1, 2. IV. *Quis Her.* 113-117, 122
 10-22. VI. *Mos.* ii. 95-97
 10. III. *Ebr.* 85, V. *Mut.* 43f
 19. II. *Cher.* 25f
 21. IV. *Quis Her.* 166, V. *Fug.* 100f
 23-30. VI. *Mos.* ii. 104-108
 29. IV. *Congr.* 168
 30. IV. *Quis Her.* 175
 31. IV. *Quis Her.* 218[N], *Congr.* 8
 31-40. VI. *Mos.* ii. 102f, 105
 36. IV. *Quis Her.* 216-218
 37. IV. *Congr.* 8 & n
 40. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 102, IV. *Congr.* 8n
- xxvi. 1. IV. *Congr.* 116 & n
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 18-30. VI. *Mos.* ii. 77 & n-83
 33. V. *Mut.* 43f, 192
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- xxvii. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 273-276
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- 9-18. VI. *Mos.* ii. 89-93
- 9. V. *Mut.* 190
- 16. VI. *Mos.* ii. 77n
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- xxviii. VI. *Mos.* ii. 109-135, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 83-97, 84n
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 - 4. III. *Ebr.* 85f, V. *Mut.* 43f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 85, 94
 - 6-8. VI. *Mos.* ii. 109, 111, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 86, 88n
 - 9-12. IV. *Quis Her.* 176, VI. *Mos.* ii. 112, 122f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 86, 94
 - 15, 16. VI. *Mos.* ii. 112, 125, 127f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 87f
 - 15-21. I. *Leg. All.* i. 81-84, IV. *Quis Her.* 178n, V. *Fug.* 185, VI. *Mos.* ii. 112 & n, 124-128, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 87f
 - 22, 24, 25 (EV 22-28). VI. *Mos.* ii. 113, 130
 - ^a26 (EV 30). I. *Leg. All.* iii. 118, 128f, 140, IV. *Quis Her.* 303 & n, VI. *Mos.* ii. 112, 113 & n, 117-135[N], VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 84n, 88 & n-92, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 69
 - 27-30 (EV 31-34). IV. *Mig.* 102f, VI. *Mos.* ii. 110, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 93-97
 - 27 (EV 31). VI. *Mos.* ii. 118, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 85
 - ^a29, 30 (EV 33, 34). IV. *Mig.* 103, VI. *Mos.*

^a At *Leg. All.* iii. 119 the reference is to the EV; at *Mos.* ii. 113 there is no exact reference; at *Mos.* ii. 114[N] and 115n LXX and EV are mixed, but it is indicated; at *Spec. Leg.* ii. 83 the reference is to the EV; at *Spec. Leg.* iv. 69 no reference is given. At *Mig.* 103f the references are to the LXX.

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- ii. 110, 119-121, 133-135, 117-135[N],
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 - 31 (EV 35). IV. *Mig.* 104
 - ^a 32 (EV 36). IV. *Mig.* 103, VI. *Mos.* ii. 114
& [N], 115 & n, 132, 117-135[N]
35, 36 (EV 39, 40). VI. *Mos.* ii. 116, 131-133
36-39 (EV 40-43). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 82f
37 (EV 41). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 79[N]
- xxix. VI. *Mos.* ii. 143-152
 - 4, 5. V. *Som.* i. 214f
 - 38, 39. IV. *Quis Her.* 174
 - 39. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 276n
 - 40. IV. *Congr.* 102
- xxx. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 273-276
 - 1, 2. III. *Ebr.* 85, 87, IV. *Quis Her.* 226,
VI. *Mos.* ii. 101, 105
 - 7. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 176n
 - 7, 8. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 171
 - 12-16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 77 & n, 78
 - 12, 13. IV. *Quis Her.* 186f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* 33n
 - 15. IV. *Quis Her.* 189f
 - 19, 20. IV. *Mig.* 98n
 - 34, 35. IV. *Quis Her.* 196-200, 226
- xxxi. 2-11. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 95f, 102f, III. *Plant.* 26f,
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 - 2, 3. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 95f, II. *Gig.* 23, V. *Som.*
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 - 14, 15. VI. *Mos.* ii. 217 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii.
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^a See note a on previous page.

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- xxxii. III. *Ebr.* 95 & [N]-110, VI. *Mos.* ii. 161-173, 270-274, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 124-127
2. II. *Post.* 166f
- 3, 4. II. *Sac.* 130, III. *Ebr.* 95 & [N], V. *Fug.* 90, VI. *Mos.* ii. 161f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 125
16. IV. *Mig.* 85, *Quis Her.* 187
- 17-19. III. *Ebr.* 96 & [N]-98 & [N], 99, 104f, 121-124
20. II. *Post.* 158-165
- 26-29. II. *Sac.* 130, III. *Ebr.* 66-71, V. *Fug.* 90-92, VI. *Mos.* ii. 167-171, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 79 & n & [N], iii. 125f
32. IV. *Quis Her.* 19f, VI. *Mos.* ii. 166
- xxxiii. 7. I. *Leg. All.* ii. 54f, iii. 46-48, II. *Det.* 160, *Gig.* 54, III. *Ebr.* 100, 124
11. IV. *Quis Her.* 21, V. *Som.* i. 232, VI. *Mos.* i. 156, ii. 163, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 44
- 13-23. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 41-50
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- 19-23. II. *Post.* 169, V. *Fug.* 164f, *Mut.* 8-10, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 41n, 46-50
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- 28-35. VI. *Mos.* ii. 69, 70 & n
 xxxv. 2. VI. *Mos.* ii. 217 & n
 3. IV. *Mig.* 91, VI. *Mos.* ii. 219 & n, VII.
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 22, 23. IV. *Mig.* 97
 xxxvi. ^a 10 (EV xxxix. 3). II. *Sac.* 83, IV. *Quis Her.*
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^b 15-21 (EV xxxix. 8-14). V. *Som.* i. 202 & n
^b 38 (EV xxxix. 30). VI. *Mos.* ii. 114[N]
 xxxviii. ^c 13, 14 (EV xxxvii. 17). IV. *Congr.* 8n
^d 15-17 (EV xxxvii. 18-24). IV. *Quis Her.*
 218 & [N]-229
 26, 27 (EV xxxviii. 8). IV. *Mig.* 98 & n, VI.
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LEVITICUS

For the title compare *Plant.* 26 and *Fug.* 170 & n

- i. 1. III. *Plant.* 26
 3-9. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 198-211
 3, 4. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 163-165
 6. II. *Sac.* 84f

^a In both passages the LXX numeration is followed. At *Quis Her.* 131 there is a misprint; for xxxvii. 10 read xxxvi. 10.

^b At *Som.* i. 202 the numeration is LXX (EV); in *Mos.* ii. 114[N] it is EV (LXX).

^c In the footnote to *Congr.* 8, for Ex. xxxviii. 5f (xxxvii. 17) read xxxviii. 13, 14 (EV xxxvii. 17).

^d The LXX differs considerably from the EV.

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- 10, 11. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 163-165
14. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 162
- ii. 1, 2. V. *Som.* ii. 71-74
11. IV. *Congr.* 69, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 291-295, ii. 182-185
13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 289f
14. II. *Sac.* 76 & n-87
- iii. II. *Sac.* 136-139, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 212-219
- 16, 17. II. *Post.* 123
17. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 123 & n, 124
- iv. 3. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 226 & nn-230 & n, 231-233
- 6-12. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 231-233
- 7-10. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 125
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- 13, 22, 27. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 226 & nn-233
- v. 1. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 26 & n
2. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 119n
- 4, 5. V. *Som.* ii. 296 & n-299, 298n
- 5-12. V. *Mut.* 233-251
- 15, 16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 234
- vi. 2-7. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 235-239
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10. V. *Mut.* 43f
- 12, 13. VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 285-288
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^a 38 (EV vii. 8). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 151
^a 40 (EV vii. 10). IV. *Quis Her.* 195
- ^b vii. 2, 3, 5 (EV 12, 13, 15). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 224f
^c 21 (EV 31). I. *Leg. All.* iii. 140 & n
 21-24 (EV 31-34). VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 145 & n, 146
 24 (EV 34). I. *Leg. All.* iii. 133-137
- viii. VI. *Mos.* ii. 143-152
 21. IV. *Mig.* 67
 29. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 129-132, 140, 147, IV. *Mig.* 67
- ix. VI. *Mos.* ii. 143-152
 14. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 140-145, 147
 24. IV. *Quis Her.* 251
 34. VI. *Mos.* ii. 154-158
- x. 1-7. I. *Leg. All.* ii. 57f
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 6. V. *Som.* ii. 67
 8-11. III. *Ebr.* 127-143, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 98-100

^a At *Spec. Leg.* i. 151 the reference is to the EV (LXX); at *Quis Her.* 195 it is to the LXX only.

^b At *Spec. Leg.* i. 224f the numeration is that of the LXX (EV); but at i. 145f of the EV (LXX); while in *Leg. All.* iii. 133-137, 140 only the EV is given.

^c In the footnote to *Leg. All.* iii. 140 there is a misprint. For Lev. vii. 3 read vii. 21 (EV 31).

- 16. V. *Fug.* 157, 160n
- 19, 20. V. *Fug.* 159, 160 & n
- 24. VI. *Mos.* ii. 153 & n-158

- xi. V. *Som.* i. 81, VIII. *Gen. Introd.* p. x n
- 3. VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 106 & n & [N]-109 & n & [N]
- 4. III. *Agr.* 131-145
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- 21. I. *Leg. All.* ii. 105-108, IV. *Quis Her.* 239, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 114 & n
- 22. I. *Op.* 163f, *Leg. All.* ii. 108
- 42. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 139, IV. *Mig.* 64f, 69, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 113 & n-115

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^a Called "The Greater Song" (as distinct from "The Song" of Exod. xv), I. *Leg. All.* iii. 105 & n, II. *Post.* 167 & n, III. *Plant.* 59, *Sob.* 10 & n, V. *Mut.* 182 & n, *Som.* ii. 191; cf. VIII. *Virt.* 72.

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In a few cases there is a difference of one verse or more between the LXX and the EV, so that the references given by the Translators are slightly inaccurate. I have thought it sufficient to indicate these in the list of corrigenda and simply to print the correct numeration above.

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i. 9n
xii. 16. VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 37-38[N]

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- i. 26. I. Gen. Introd. p. xx(xxi) n
ii. 23. III. *Sob.* 56[N]
iii. 10. I. Gen. Introd. p. xx(xxi) n

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- II. *Det.* Introd. p. 200

REVELATION

- ii. 17. V. *Som.* i. 186[N]
iii. 18. V. *Som.* i. 164n
xiii. 18. VI. *Mos.* ii. 79[N]
xxi. 10ff. V. *Som.* i. 186[N]

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Aaron : ' mountainous,' the reason whose thoughts are lofty and sublime (*Ebr.* 128) ; Speech (*Leg. All.* iii. 103, *Mig.* 79, 169 & n) or Word (*Leg. All.* iii. 45, 118 (ἱερός λ.) *Quis Her.* 201f, *Mut.* 208), the logos in utterance (προφορικός, *Mig.* 78, *Det.* 39, 126), the perfect interpreter (*Det.* 132, cf. 40, *Mig.* 78, 81, 84, *Mut.* 208, *Mos.* i. 84). He is also the man of gradual improvement (ὁ προκόπτων, *Leg. All.* iii. 140, 144, *Som.* ii. 234, 237), training or practising (ἀσκητής, opp. to τέλειος, *Leg. All.* iii. 144), but falling short of consummation (*Som.* ii. 234-237), and so inferior to Moses (*ib.* ; δεύτερος, *Leg. All.* iii. 128, 132), whom he is predisposed to obey (*Mos.* i. 85)

Aaron, Speech, is the brother of Moses, Mind (*Det.* 39f, 126-135, *Mig.* 78-84, cf. *Mut.* 208), the logical nature being the one mother of them both (*Mig.* 78-84, cf. 168f). On the other hand, he is contrasted with Moses because he receives a less direct revelation (*Leg. All.* iii. 103, *Mig.* 81) and access (*Gig.* 52), he is instable (*ib.*, *Som.* ii. 234-237), he is not whole-hearted in rejecting the passions (*Leg. All.* iii. 128, 132, 134) and pleasure (140), he is subject to toil and discipline (135, 144), a learner, imperfect (135, *Som.* ii. 234-237), making only gradual improvement (see above)

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He is a Levite ('speech in deep earnest,' *Det.* 132), and head of its priesthood (*Gig.* 52 & [N], *Ebr.* 135-138). His mistakes are exposed (*Leg. All.* iii. 103, *Fug.* 159), but there is silence about his making the Golden Calf (*Mos.* ii. 161ff), unless he is referred to in *Ebr.* 95f, 108f, 124-126. But he is an example of good voluntary action (*Post.* 75f), and his aim is Truth, which he attains at death (*Leg. All.* iii. 45)

I. *Leg. All.* iii. 45, 103, 118-129, 140, 144, II. *Det.* 39f, 126-132, 135, *Post.* 75f, *Gig.* 52 & [N], III. *Ebr.* 95f, 108-110, 124-138, IV. *Mig.* 78-84, 168f, *Quis Her.* 195, 201f, V. *Fug.* 159, *Mut.* 207f, *Som.* ii. (187-189), 234-237, VI. *Mos.* i. 84-86, 90f, 97-113, 126-129, *Mos.* ii. 142-154, 161ff, 176-186, 278, VIII. *Praem.* 78

Abae : IX. *Prov.* 2. 33 & n

Abel : 'one who refers all things to God' (*Sac.* 2, 51, *Det.* 32), the God-loving principle or creed (*φιλόθεον δόγμα*, *Sac.* 3, *Det.* 32, 38, 78, 103), the good conviction (*καλὸν δόγμα*, *Sac.* 5), the type of the good in man (*Det.* 78), the noble (*Det.* 69), virtue (*Sac.* 14), holiness, the perfect good (*Sac.* 10, cf. *Det.* 62). In *Mig.* 74 Philo derives Abel from a different Hebrew root ('mourn') : he is one to whom things mortal are a grief and things immortal are full of happiness

He is contrasted with Cain, the self-loving principle (*Sac.* 3, 5, *Det.* 32, 49), with whom he should not have fought as he had never learned the arts of speech (*Det.* 37, *Mig.* 74). Though he was killed, yet he is alive with the happy life in God (*Det.* 48f, 69, *Post.* 38f, cf. 173). He finds a new birth, as it were, in Seth (*Post.* 124)

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II. *Cher.* 40, *Sac.* 1-3, 10f, 14, 51f, 88, 136, *Det.* 1, 32, 37, 42, 45-49, 57 & [N], 61, 68f, 78f, 93, 100, 103, *Post.* 10, 38f, 49, 124, 170-173, (III. *Agr.* 21), IV. *Conf.* 124 & [N], *Mig.* 74, *Congr.* 54 [N], VI. *Abr.* 12n & [N], VIII. *Virt.* 199

Abihu : see Nadab

Abimelech : III. *Plant.* 169 (Gen. xxvi), IV. *Quis Her.* 258, V. *Som.* i. 1-2[N] (Gen. xx), VI. *Abr.* 92-106

Abraham : Abram is πατήρ μετέωρος, the 'father high-soaring' or 'uplifted father,' signifying the mind which surveys the supra-terrestrial, called 'father' because it cares for its tenets (*Abr.* 82), or because it is the father of our compound being (*Gig.* 62, cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 83), or because it is productive of some wisdom (*Mut.* 68). This is the mind of the lover of learning, the meteorologist or astrologer, given to nature-study (*Gig.* 62f, *Mut.* 70f, 76, cf. *Abr.* 82, 84), associated with Abram's residence in Chaldaea and contrasted with his departure from there and his new name (*Leg. All.* iii. 83f,^a cf. 244, *Cher.* 4, *Gig.* 62, *Mut.* 66-71, 76, *Abr.* 81-84)

Abraham is πατήρ ἐκλεκτός ἡχοῦς, the 'elect father of sound,' signifying the good man's reasoning (*Gig.* 64, cf. *Cher.* 7), because reason (*Gig.* 64) or mind (*Cher.* 7, *Mut.* 66, *Abr.* 83, 99) is father of the uttered word (ὁ γεγωνὸς or προφορικὸς λόγος). This is the man of wisdom (*Mut.* 69f, *Abr.* 84) or man of worth, chosen out of all for his merits (*Gig.* 63), who pursues ethical philosophy

^a In *Leg. All.* iii. 83f Philo may be coupling this with a favourable interpretation, 'the mind which contemplates the Deity'; but probably there too he is alluding to the change of name.

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(*Mut.* 76), the man of God (*Gig.* 63). See *Cher.* 7, *Gig.* 63f, *Mut.* 66, 69f, 76, *Abr.* 81-84

He is called the wise man or Sage (*passim*; see p. 278, n), or the man of worth,^a the good man (*ὁ σπουδαῖος*, *Leg. All.* iii. 217, *Mig.* 110, 129, *Quis Her.* 129, *Mut.* 31, 201, *Som.* ii. 256), pious (*Leg. All.* iii. 10), faithful (*Post.* 173), just (*Leg. All.* iii. 9, *Decal.* 38, *cf. Abr.* 232), perfect (*Leg. All.* iii. 203, 244, *Quod Deus* 4, *Quis Her.* 275, *Mut.* 270, *cf. Abr.* 244 & n, 270, *Virt.* 217, *Sac.* 7), the lover of God (*φιλόθεος*,^b *Cher.* 7, *Post.* 21, *Abr.* 50, *cf. 170*) and beloved of God (*θεοφιλής*, *Abr.* 50, 89, *cf. 273*, *Sob.* 56 & [N], *Som.* i. 193f). He is the elder (*πρεσβύτερος*, *Gen.* xxiv. 1; by virtue of his right reasoning, *Sob.* 17, 18 & [N], or wisdom, *Abr.* 270, 274), the most ancient (*πρεσβύτατος*, *Virt.* 212), the first (*Abr.* 272, 276), the founder of the race (*Quis Her.* 279, *Som.* i. 167, *Mut.* 88, *Abr.* 98, 276, *cf. 56*, *Mos.* i. 7, *Virt.* 206f, *cf. Praem.* 166 & n). He is regarded as a prophet (*Quis Her.* 258f, 263-266, *Virt.* 218). (See further below)

Abraham at first dwelt in Chaldaea, signifying mere opinion (*Gig.* 62, *Mig.* 187) and the study of the supra-terrestrial (*Cher.* 4, *Gig.* 62, *Mut.* 67f) or astrology (*Congr.* 45n, 49, *Mut.* 16, 71, *Som.* i. 53, 161, *Abr.* 69, 77, 82, *Virt.* 212 & n, *Praem.* 58), the study of nature and its causes (*Congr.* 48f,

^a *δοτεῖος*, *Mig.* 130, *Quis Her.* 276, *Mut.* 175, 180, 193, 252, *Som.* ii. 244, *Abr.* 83, 85, 90, 118, 214, 225, 242, 274. The English translations vary.

^b Compare also *φιλάρετος* (*Abr.* 68, *cf. 220, 224*), *φιλοδίκαιος* (225), *φιλομαθής* (*Congr.* 68, 73, 111, *Mut.* 70, *cf. 270*), *φιλόσοφος* (*Mut.* 70, *cf. Cher.* 45, *Mig.* 149, *Abr.* 224, 271); *cf. also Abr.* 271 (with *φρόνησις*), *Mig.* 197 (with *ἐπιστήμη*).

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Mut. 76, *cf.* *Quis Her.* 289, *Abr.* 69f), a polytheistic creed (*Virt.* 214, *cf.* *Mig.* 184 & n).^a But he awoke or was awakened to the falsity of this (*Abr.* 70, 78-80, *Virt.* 214, *Abr.* 88) and departed from Chaldaea and dwelt in Haran, the land of sense-perception (*Mig.* 176f, 184-189, 195, *Som.* i. 41-44, 47, 52-60, *Abr.* 72 & n). Then in obedience to divine command, or by free impulse (*Abr.* 88 ; contrast 67, *cf.* *Virt.* 214), he left Haran and his kindred and his father's house (*Abr.* 67, 85-88, *Virt.* 214 ; 'body, sense and speech,' *Det.* 159, *Mig.* 1-12, 192, 195).^b Soon after God appeared to him (*Det.* 159, *Mig.* 192, 195, *Som.* i. 59f, *Abr.* 70f, 77-80, 84, 88, *Virt.* 214, *Praem.* 58).^b So this was a spiritual emigration (*Abr.* 66, 68f), an advance from self-knowledge to the vision and knowledge of God (*Mig.* 1-12, 192, 195, *Quis Her.* 287-289, *Congr.* 48f, *Abr.* 72 & n, 77-80, 87f, *cf.* *Mut.* 16, *Som.* i. 59f, *Abr.* 70f, *Virt.* 214f, *Praem.* 58, *Leg. All.* iii. 244), to wisdom (*Mut.* 70f) and virtue (*Mut.* 70-76) and truth (*Mig.* 1-12, *Virt.* 214, *Praem.* 58), a true stripping of the soul (*Leg. All.* ii. 59, *cf.* *Mig.* 192 & n, *Som.* i. 43). Thereafter his name was changed (see above).^c Mean-

^a In *Cher.* 4, *Mig.* 178-181, *Mut.* 67f (*cf.* *Gig.* 62) Philo's view of the sojourn in Chaldaea is favourable or partly favourable. It is unfavourable or partly unfavourable in *Abr.* 69f, 79, 84, 88, *Virt.* 212f, *Praem.* 58, *Mig.* 179, 194, *Congr.* 48f, *Som.* i. 161.

^b Often Philo directly links the vision of God with Abraham's earlier migration from Chaldaea (*Quis Her.* 287-289, *Congr.* 48f, *Mut.* 16, 70-73, *Som.* i. 161, *Abr.* 69-71, 80, *cf.* 84, 88, *Virt.* 214, *Praem.* 58).

^c The similarity of *Gen.* xii. 7 and xvii. 1 has made it easy for Philo to connect the change of name (xvii. 5) with the emigrations from Chaldaea and Haran (xi. 31, xii. 1).

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while, when compelled by famine to enter Egypt (*Quis Her.* 286-289) his marriage ^a was protected as a reward for his departure from Haran (*Abr.* 90-98). His separation from Lot (*Abr.* 211-225) showed his kindness (208ff) and peaceableness (216, 225); the quarrel represented a conflict of principles in the soul (220-223 & n, *cf. Mig.* 150 & [N]). On the other hand, his courageous and warlike nature (225) was revealed by his conflict with Chederlaomer and the kings; this was a victory over the four passions and five sense-faculties (*Ebr.* 105, *Conf.* 26, *Congr.* 92f, *Abr.* 236-244), over evil and wrongdoings (*Ebr.* 24, *Quis Her.* 286-289), a victory of reason or the Word (*Abr.* 243f), of the friendly and perfect number, Ten (*Congr.* 91-93, *Abr.* 244), establishing democracy (*Abr.* 242 & n). In this Abraham revealed his kindness and trust in God (*Abr.* 232, *cf. Virt.* 22n) and might (*Ebr.* 105f). His refusal to accept any spoil from the king of Sodom was the obedience of the man of worth who dissociates himself from evil (*Leg. All.* iii. 24 & n, 197) and acknowledges only God (*Ebr.* 105f)

When God made promise of a son, "Abraham believed God and He counted it to him for righteousness": that is, his virtue or expectation was rewarded with faith, the one sure good (*Mig.* 44, *Abr.* 268, 273, *Virt.* 216, *Praem.* 27, 49f & [N]). His faith in God is in contrast to trust in reasonings (*Leg. All.* iii. 228), the inconstancy of created things (*Quod Deus* 4, *Praem.* 28-30), lower things (*Quis Her.* 92f), externals (*Abr.* 269),

^a Sarah is Virtue (*Leg. All.* iii. 218, *Post.* 62, etc.), or Wisdom (*Congr.* 72f).

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sense-perception (*Praem.* 28-30). On the other hand, his faith is not absolute, such as that of God (*Mut.* 181f, 186, *cf.* 201, 218 ; *cf.* *Quis Her.* 94f). His union with Hagar was advised by Sarah because he was still Abram, inquiring into supra-mundane things (for Hagar is School-learning or the Culture of the Schools ; *Leg. All.* iii. 244) and the things of sense (*Congr.* 81, 88). Abram's name was changed to Abraham when his character improved and he became perfect (see Scripture Index, *s.v.* Gen. xvii. 1, *Leg. All.* iii. 244, *Cher.* 4, *Gig.* 63, *Mut.* 65, 70f, 76, *cf.* 83f, 87). His laughter at God's promise of a son is variously justified : it was because he was about to beget Happiness (*Leg. All.* iii. 85-87, 218, *cf.* *Mut.* 166) ; because of his joy in God as the sole cause of good gifts (*Mut.* 154-156) ; the doubt was one of the mind only, and quite momentary (175-180), but sincere (193 & n, *cf.* *Abr.* 110f). His entertainment of the three strange visitors showed his kindliness (*Abr.* 107), generosity (110) and piety (114), and God's recognition of his wisdom (118). Allegorically the incident represents Abraham's vision of God and His potencies (*Cher.* 106, *Abr.* 119-132). The birth of Isaac was promised as a thank-offering for their stay (*Sac.* 122, *Abr.* 110). Abraham interceded for Sodom because he believed that God would spare the rest for the sake of the least particle of virtue (*Mig.* 122f, *Mut.* 228) : scanty goodness by God's favour expands ; this is signified by the number Ten (*Sac.* 122, *Congr.* 109), which God accepted, *viz.*, the lower training or education (*Mut.* 228). *Cf.* *Abr.* 164-166

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Abraham's greatest action was his readiness to sacrifice Isaac (*Abr.* 167-207); he was steadfast in his love for God (170), and it was an offering made in piety (177, 198) and obedience (192), an allegory of the offering of joy to God (200-207). Attention is drawn to his moderation in grief over the loss of Sarah (245f, 255-261). For this he was hailed as a king (261, *Virt.* 216 & n, 218)—an example of a ruler appointed for ever by Nature herself (*Mut.* 151). This kingship in the mind illustrates the principle that the sage alone is king (*Mut.* 152f & [N], *Som.* ii. 244, *Abr.* 261, cf. *Mig.* 196f) and that this kingship is a gift from God in reward for virtue (*Abr.* 261, *Virt.* 216).^a Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah (see Scripture Index, s.v. Gen. xxiii. 3ff) and his marriage to Keturah (*Sac.* 43f, cf. *Congr.* 34f, *Virt.* 207; contrast *Cher.* 40) are both mentioned. Finally, Gen. xxv. 8 (Lxx) is interpreted as not implying death: Abraham, being a fully purified soul, inherited incorruption and passed direct to heaven (*Sac.* 5-7, *Quis Her.* 276-289)

He had been a man of wealth and power (*Det.* 14, *Mig.* 94, *Abr.* 209 & n, 252; contrast *Mut.* 152); though his life was comparatively short (*Sob.* 17, *Quis Her.* 291), he had lived in harmony with nature (*Mig.* 128) and with the will of God (*Leg. All.* iii. 197), Whose worthy servant (*Quis Her.* 8f) and companion (*Gig.* 64) he was, enjoying access (*Post.* 27, *Mig.* 132) and intimacy (*Cher.* 18, *Gig.* 62f, *Ebr.* 94, *Quis Her.* 289). God was his instructor (*Som.* i. 173, cf. *Sac.* 5-7) and standard in

^a For Philo's interest in Gen. xxv. 5, 6, see Scripture Index.

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all things (*Cher.* 31); for, recognizing his meanness before Him (*Quod Deus* 161), his was the soul that hides away wickedness and longs for all beauteous things (*Leg. All.* iii. 27, *cf. Abr.* 48-51), flying from himself and taking refuge in God (*Leg. All.* iii. 39), stretching Godwards (*Ebr.* 105f), the very type of the pilgrim soul (*Quis Her.* 280). He was a man of vision (*Ebr.* 107, *Som.* ii. 226f, *Abr.* 70f, 79f, *Praem.* 30, 58, *cf. Det.* 159) and a man of God (*Gig.* 63), inspired by divine spirit, whereby his whole being and character were refined (*Virt.* 217)

He is numbered in the second (and higher) Patriarchal triad of those who yearn for virtue, signifying that virtue which comes by Teaching (*Congr.* 35f, *Mut.* 12, *Som.* i. 168-172, *Mos.* i. 76, *Praem.* 27, 49 & [N], *cf. Mig.* 125 & [N].^a See s.vv. Isaac, Jacob). Thus he was the grandfather of Jacob's early training and knowledge (*Sac.* 43 & n, *Sob.* 65, *Mut.* 270, *Abr.* 50, *Som.* i. 47 & n & [N], 70; contrast 171f, *cf. Quod Deus* 92 & [N]) and the starting-point for that of Moses (*Post.* 174). He was thus himself a learner (*Congr.* 63, 122, *Som.* i. 171) and pupil of God (see above), apt to learn because he despaired of himself (*Som.* i. 60) and was eager for knowledge (*Mut.* 88), and because he combined attention, memory (*cf. Mig.* 125 & [N], *Mut.* 84, 270) and the valuing of deeds before words (*Congr.* 68), and retained what he had learned and so remained constant (*Mut.* 84, *cf. Post.* 27). Thus, taught by natural zeal, he was not only one who obeyed the law,

^a Here Abraham is described as one of the threefold divisions of eternity or time (*αἰῶνος μέτρα*).

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but rather himself a law and an unwritten statute (*Abr.* 275f)

Philo often mentions his particular qualities of character : in addition to the epithets already mentioned, he alludes to his virtue,^a his piety,^b his holiness (*Abr.* 198, *cf. Praem.* 24), spiritual refinement (*Virt.* 217), justice (*Abr.* 219, 225, 232), sincerity (*Mut.* 193 & n), obedience (*Abr.* 60, 88, 192, 276), faith (see Scripture Index *s.v.* Gen. xv. 6) and faithfulness (*Quis Her.* 129) and constancy (see above), his wisdom,^c sound sense (*φρόνησις*, *Mig.* 164, *Abr.* 219, 271), moderation (*σωφροσύνη*, *Abr.* 219, *cf.* 256-261), reason (*Abr.* 256, *Praem.* 30, *cf. Leg. All.* iii. 9), knowledge (*Congr.* 153, 156, *Som.* i. 59f, 160, *Praem.* 61, *cf. Quis Her.* 93), confidence blended with caution (*Quis Her.* 22) ; his courage (*Abr.* 225, 219) and war-like quality (225), yet peaceableness (*ib.*), love of tranquillity (216) and solitude (87) ; his kindness of heart (107, 208, 232), hospitality (114,

^a ἀρετή, *Leg. All.* iii. 24, 244f, *Cher.* 40, *Post.* 62, 75f, *Mig.* 167 & n, *Congr.* 35, *Mut.* 71, 83f, *Som.* ii. 90, 255-258, *Abr.* 51f, *cf.* 60, 219f, 221, *cf.* 224, 244, 261, 269, *Mos.* i. 76, *Praem.* 27.

^b εὐσέβεια, *Leg. All.* iii. 209, *Mut.* 76, 155, *Abr.* 60f, 98-208, esp. 114, *cf.* 177, 198f, 208, *Virt.* 218.

^c σοφία, *Cher.* 45, *Post.* 174, *Sob.* 55f, *Conf.* 77-79, *Congr.* 48, 73ff, 153, 156, *Mut.* 32, 69, 71, 270, *Som.* i. 66, *Abr.* 118, 219f, 224, 271, *Mos.* i. 76, *Praem.* 27, 49 & [N]. 'Wise' is the most frequent epithet of Abraham : *Leg. All.* iii. 210, 217, 244, *Cher.* 7, 10, 18 (πάνσοφος), 31, 106, *Sac.* 122, *Det.* 59, 124, *Post.* 18, 27, *Plant.* 73, *Ebr.* 24, 105, *Sob.* 17, 65, *Conf.* 26, 77-79, *Mig.* 13, 94, 109, 122, 129, 140, *Quis Her.* 1, 88, 91, 258, 280, 313, *Congr.* 48, 92, 109, 119, *Fug.* 200, *Mut.* 69-71, 152, 155, 270, *Som.* i. 214, *Som.* ii. 89f, 226, 244, 255, *Abr.* 68, 77, 80, 83f, 118, 132, 142, 168, 199, 202, 213, 229, 255, 261, 272, 275, *Praem.* 58.

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cf. 167), domestic authority (116), fatherly affection (170, 194-199), conjugal faithfulness (*Congr.* 73, 78-80), sexual continence (*Cher.* 40, *Mut.* 31-34, *Abr.* 253 & n); his industry (*Plant.* 73-77), law-abidingness and stability (*Quis Her.* 289, *Abr.* 276); he was great and lofty in character (*Abr.* 199), worthy of our affection (88), the very pattern of nobility (*Virt.* 219, *cf. Abr.* 98, 276)

- I. Gen. Introd. pp. xiii, xvii, *Leg. All.* ii. 59, iii. 9f, 24, 27, 39, 41f, 83-85, 177, 197, 203, 209f, 217f, 228, 244f, II. *Cher.* 4, 7, 8[N], 10, 18, 31, 40, 45 & [N], 106, *Sac.* 5-7 & [N], 43 & n, 59, 122, *Det.* 14, 59-61, 124, 159, *Post.* 17-20, 27, 62, 75f, 173f, *Gig.* 62-64, III. *Quod Deus* 4, 161, *Plant.* 73-77, *Ebr.* 24, (61), 94, 105-107, 110, *Sob.* 8, 17f & [N], 38n, 55f & [N], 65, IV. *Conf.* 26, 74, 79, *Mig.* 1, 13, 35n, 43f, 94, 109f, 122f, 125 & n & [N], 128-130, 132, 139f, 149f & [N] (154), 164, 166, 167 & n, 173-195, 184n, 197f, *Quis Her.* Introd. p. 273 n, 1f, 8f, 22-39, 66, 76, 88, 90-95, 99f, 129, 258f, 263-266, 275-292, 313f & [N], *Congr.* Title, p. 249 n, 34f, 48, 63, 68, 72f, 78-82, 91-93, 109, 111, 119, 122, 153-156, V. *Fug.* 25ff[N] (132-136), 200, *Mut.* 1ff, 12f, 15-18, 31-34, 39-76, 83-88, (130), 152, 154-156, 166 & n, 175-187, 188, 193, 201, (210, 216), 218, (228), 252f, 270, *Som.* i. (3, 14), 41-44, 47 & n & [N], 52, 56n, 59f, 64-67, 70, 159-162, 166-173, 193-195, 214, *Som.* ii. 89f, 226f, 244, 255-258, VI. Gen. Introd. x-xii, xv n, xvi, xvii, *Abr.* 48-55, (56), 60-62 & n, 66-72, 77-99 & nn, 100-102[N], 107-111, 114-118 & [N], 131f, 142, 167-276 & nn, (*Jos.* 1), *Mos.* i. 7 & n, 76, VII. *Decal.* 38, VIII. Gen. Introd. pp. xvii, xviii, xxi, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 168n, *Virt.* 22n, 78[N], 206, 207 & n, 211-219,

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212n, *Praem.* 23[N], 24-30, 49 & [N], 57f & nn, 61, 166 & n, *IX. Flacc.* 74n, *Hyp.* 6. 1n

Ada : wife of Lamech (*Post.* 75, 112), means 'Witness' (79), bearing witness to the success of worthless things and being borne witness to as helping to accomplish them (83). Represents the Epicurean school (79[N])

Adam : For Philo Adam is generic man rather than an actual individual ; and in fact he treats the story of Eve's creation from Adam as an allegorical myth (*Leg. All.* ii. 19, *cf.* I. Gen. Introd. p. xiii). As such Adam stands for the mind of man, and occasionally for the soul

" There are two races of men, the one made after the (Divine) Image, and the one moulded out of the earth " (*Leg. All.* ii. 4) ; Philo generally distinguishes the two accounts of creation given in Gen. i. 27 and ii. 7 ; the first is the genus man, male and female, the second is the species (*Leg. All.* ii. 13). In *Op.* 134 he says that the first is not an objective being at all, but an idea, type or seal, incorporeal. Generally the contrast is between the spiritual man made after the image of God and the earthly man made out of clay. In *Quis Her.* 56f the point of contrast is not the two creations but the two elements in man, the spiritual (Gen. i. 27 and ii. 7, " God breathed into him the breath of life ") and the earthly (ii. 7, made from clay). In *Plant.* 18-20 the two creations are taken together as complementary rather than contrasted ; so, too, in the fine passage in *Virt.* 203-205 (*cf.* *Op.* 72-76, where Philo builds upon the use of the plural in ' Let us make,' accounting thus for the evil in man).

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When contrasted, the points of contrast are the material and the manner of the constitution of each (*Op.* 134, *Leg. All.* i. 31, 33, 42, 88, *Plant.* 44f, *cf. Quis Her.* 56f), their character (*Leg. All.* i. 53-55, 92-96, *Plant.* 45, *cf. Quis Her.* 56f), their status and function in Eden (*Leg. All.* i. 53-55, 88f, 92-96, *Plant.* 44f).

The direct equation of Adam with Mind is made frequently (*Leg. All.* i. 90, 92, iii. 50, 185, (222), 246, *Cher.* 10, 57 (*Plant.* 42, 46, *Quis Her.* 52, 257, *Virt.* 204)); in many more instances Philo assumes this equation and launches into his interpretation (*e.g.*, *Leg. All.* i. 42, 55, ii. 49f, *Quis Her.* 231). It is in respect of the mind within the soul that Adam or man is said to be made after the image of God (*Op.* 69, *Virt.* 204). This mind may be said to partake of spirit, for its reasoning faculty possesses robustness (*Leg. All.* i. 42). It is the less material mind, having no part in perishable matter, endowed with a constitution of a purer and clearer kind: it is the heavenly mind (88, 90), immortal (*Op.* 134, *Plant.* 44), the child of God (*Virt.* 204). This is the mind to whom God affords secure knowledge of virtue and the double advantage of practising and remembering it (*Leg. All.* i. 89). It possesses virtue instinctively, and so needs no command or prohibition from God (*ib.* 92). Usually the emphasis is on the likeness and proximity to God; but in *Quis Her.* 231 (*cf. Leg. All.* iii. 96) Philo deduces from "after the image of God" that the likeness was at third hand

It is less easy to define the other type of mind, the one signified by the man moulded from the

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earth (*Plant.* 32, 34, 41f, 44, *Congr.* 90, *Abr.* 12 ; *cf.* *Som.* ii. 70, *Abr.* 56, *Virt.* 203), because Philo is sometimes comparing it unfavourably with the first creation, and sometimes favourably with the creation of Sense-Perception (Eve). The man moulded from the earth is the first objective creation by the Artificer, but not His offspring (*Leg. All.* i. 31 ; but see *Virt.* 204). Nevertheless it is, more strictly speaking, this mind which is called Adam (*Leg. All.* i. 90, *Cher.* 57, *Plant.* 42 ; *cf.* *Op.* 165. But see *Quis Her.* 261). He is mind mingling with, but not yet blended with, body. This earth-like mind is also corruptible, were not God to breathe into it a power of real life, making it a soul, endowed with mind and actually alive (*Leg. All.* i. 32). This was 'of grace' on God's part, Who has thus created no soul barren of virtue (34). Furthermore, it means that man could not plead that his sin was due to ignorance (33-35). It is only by this in-breathing that the soul of man conceives of God (38). The mind in turn shares this inspiration with the unreasoning part of the soul (40). On the other hand, this breathing into the mind made out of matter is insubstantial air compared with the spirit of the image-mind (42). It is placed amid virtue (*Eden.* 47) because it is rational (*Plant.* 42) ; but in contrast to the image-mind, it neither remembers nor practises it, but has facility for apprehending it only (*Leg. All.* i. 55). Such a mind is the more earthly and perishable (88, 90) ; it is incapable of knowing itself (91) ; it can have no part in wisdom independently of command and exhortation (92) ; it is

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neutral, being neither bad nor good (93, 95) ; it cannot be alone, for it is closely linked with the senses, passions, and vices (*Leg. All.* ii. 4). Here Philo begins to treat of it in relation to Eve or Sense-Perception. The mind prior to the creation of sense-perception is the older (*Cher.* 60) and princely part of the soul, as opposed to the irrational portion (*Leg. All.* ii. 6). It is mind without body (*Leg. All.* ii. 22, iii. 49, *Cher.* 58) ; with many powers and faculties lying dormant (*Leg. All.* ii. 22, 37), but an incomplete soul (24, *cf. Op.* 166, *Cher.* 59f). From one of these faculties, a quiescent state of perception, God made the *activity* of perception (*Leg. All.* ii. 35-37, 40, 45). This was done while the mind was asleep, for that means the waking of sense (25, *Quis Her.* 257 ; but see *Leg. All.* ii. 31). This sense-perception poured light into the mind (*Cher.* 61). For the sake of sense-perception the mind abandons both God and His wisdom, resolving itself into the inferior order of flesh (*Leg. All.* ii. 49f). Sense-perception has a certain independence of mind (iii. 56-58 ; contrast ii. 41) ; when it is subservient to mind, good results (i. 50, iii. 221f) : but the reverse is profitless. The nakedness of Adam and Eve typifies the nakedness of the neutral mind, clothed neither with vice nor with virtue (ii. 53, *cf.* iii. 55). It is irrational and amoral (ii. 64f). This infant-like state (53) is prior to that of apprehension (70).^a It is in *Leg.*

^a Notice that whereas the neutral state of the moulded mind was contrasted with the goodness of the image-mind in *Leg. All.* i. 93, 95 above, and that because it was prior to the creation of sense-perception, here the neutrality is that of

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All. iii. 246f that Philo seems to develop this theme of neutrality most fully, in terms of *Gen.* iii. 17 : Adam is the neutral mind, for in so far as he is mind, his nature is neither bad nor good, but under the influence of virtue and vice it is his wont to shift towards good and bad. The doings of the whole soul (does Philo mean mind and sense-perception ?) are blameworthy when it allows wickedness to regulate them. In pain does the bad man all his life long avail himself of his own vitality ; his only motive for joy is supplied by righteousness and good sense and the virtues. Thus the neutral mind is given the high calling of deciding its own destiny (*Plant.* 45). The Fall ended all neutrality, and Adam becomes the foolish mind ^a or the bad man (*Leg. All.* iii. 200, 216, 251f, *Cher.* 10). His flight from God leads only to the error of self-sufficiency (*Leg. All.* iii. 28-31). He is expelled from Eden or Virtue for ever (*Leg. All.* i. 55, *Cher.* 10, *Plant.* 46). His vanity of soul is later revealed in his naming his son as Cain or ' Possession ' (*Cher.* 57, 63 ; *cf. Leg. All.* ii. 68-70)

Adam is often referred to as the ' first founder of the race ' (*Op.* 79, 136, 142, *Mut.* 64, *cf. Abr.* 56, *Virt.* 199) or, simply, ' the first man ' (*Op.* 136, 140, 148, 151, 156, *Leg. All.* ii. 14f, *Plant.* 34, *Abr.* 12, 56, *Virt.* 203). He is the first ' world-citizen ' (*Op.* 3 & [N], 142 & [N]). In contrast with his later folly and wickedness, he is wise (*Op.* 148, *Mut.* 64, *cf. Leg. All.* ii. 15), surpassing all later men

Adam and Eve, prior to the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge.

^a But see below.

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in body and soul, the bloom of the race (*Op.* 140), the noblest of things earthborn and of perishable creatures, a miniature heaven (*Op.* 82, *cf.* *Virt.* 203), a being naturally adapted for sovereignty (*Op.* 84), and so a king, viceroy of God (148, *cf.* *Mut.* 63). It was because of this kingship that he was made responsible for the naming of the creatures (*ib.*); but also because of his wisdom (148, *Mut.* 64), and because God was testing him, to make him exert some faculty of his own (149), testing, too, his character, to see how he would welcome, name, and make use of wealth, pleasure, etc. (*Leg. All.* ii. 16-18); also because he was to be regarded as the beginning of the use of speech (*ib.* 14f, 18), God carefully avoiding being responsible for letters and parts of speech (*Mut.* 63f). But in fact these names were signs of moral values (*Mut.* 65). By thus assigning the giving of names to one man incongruity and inconsistency were avoided (*Leg. All.* ii. 15). Adam was placed in Eden that his choice might be tested (*Op.* 155, *Plant.* 32, 41, *Virt.* 205). There woman became for him the beginning of a blame-worthy life: bodily pleasure led to his fall (*Op.* 151, 165). His crime was that he honoured the two before the One, the created rather than the Creator (*Som.* ii. 70), the false rather than the true (*Virt.* 205). He was expelled^a from the garden by God, evil-mindedness expelled from holy boundaries by the Good (*Congr.* 171); thus he forfeited immortality and happiness and en-

^a The departure from Eden is usually an expulsion or an involuntary act (*Post.* 10); but in *Plant.* 34 and *Leg. All.* i. 55 Adam is said to run away or migrate.

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tered upon a life of toil and misery (*Virt.* 205, *cf.* *Op.* 167)

- I. Gen. Introd. p. xiii, *Op.* 25, 69-88, 134-169, *Leg.* *All.* i. 31-43, 53-55, 79, 88-96, 101f, ii. 1, 4-9, 11, 13-16, 18-26, 31, 35, 40-43, 45, 49f, 53, 64, 68-73, iii. 1, 4, 6f, 28-31, 49-61, 66, 185, 220-224, 246-248, 251-253, II. *Cher.* 1f, 10, 40 & n, 43, 53f, 57-62, *Det.* 80, *Post.* 10f, 33ff (89, 91), 124 (*Gig.* 65), III. *Plant.* 18-20, 32, 34, 41f, 44-46, (59f), *Ebr.* 4n, IV. *Conf.* 169, *Quis Her.* 52f, 56f, 164, 231, 257, *Congr.* (58), 90, 171, V. *Mut.* 63f, *Som.* i. 192, ii. 70 & [N], VI. *Abr.* 12 & n, 56, *Mos.* i. 263 [N], VIII. *Virt.* 199, 203-205

Adullamite : V. *Fug.* 149 (*Gen.* xxxviii. 20)

Aegean : IX. *Flacc.* 151

Aegira : IX. *Aet.* 140 & n

Aeschylus : (VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 15, 16 & n) ; IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 143 & n, (*Aet.* 49 & n)

Aetolia : X. *Leg.* 281

Agag : *Mos.* i. 290n (*Num.* xxiv. 7)

Agathon : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57

Agrippa : Herod Agrippa I, King of Judaea, etc. (*Acts* xii. 1ff), a grandson of Herod the Great, IX. *Flacc.* 25 & [N]-35, 39, 103, X. *Leg.* Introd. pp. xx, xxv, xxx & n, 179, 261-333

Agrippa : Marcus Agrippa, grandfather of Gaius Caesar, X. *Leg.* 291 & n, 294-297

Ahiman : one of the sons of Anak, dwelling in Hebron (*Num.* xiii. 22). Means ' My brother,' and typifies the body, brother to the body-loving soul, II. *Post.* 60f

Alexander the Great : II. *Cher.* 63f, VI. *Mos.* i. 29, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 94-96

Alexandria, Alexandrians : VI. *Mos.* ii. 35, IX. *Quod*
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- Omn. Prob.* 125, *Vit. Cont.* 21, *Flacc.* Introd. pp. 295-299, 2, 23, 26, 28, 43, 45, 47, 74, 78, 80, 103, 110, 141, 163, **X. Leg.** Introd. pp. xi, xii, xvii, xviii, xxi n, xxiv & n, xxvi & n, xxvii, 120-141, 150, 162-166, 170, 172f, 183, 194, 250, 338, 346, 350
- Aloeidae** : **IV. Conf.** 4
- Amalek** : ' a people licking out,' so ' Passion,' which " eats up the whole soul and licks it out, leaving behind in it no seed or spark of virtue " ; through it all the war of the soul is fanned into flame (**I. Leg. All.** iii. 186f, cf. **IV. Mig.** 143f, **Congr.** 54-56). It represents the very opposite of the Practiser, whom it attacks (**III. Ebr.** 24, **IV. Mig.** 143f), **VI. Mos.** i. 214n, 215ff, **VIII. Virt.** 22n
- Aminadab** : **II. Post.** 76 (**Exod.** vi. 23)
- Ammonites** : descendants of Lot's daughters, by incest, according to **Gen.** xix. 38 (**II. Post.** 176f, **VII. Spec. Leg.** i. 333n). They refused hospitality to Israel before the entry into Canaan, and so were to be shut out from the congregation of the Lord (**Deut.** xxiii. 3, 4 ; **I. Leg. All.** iii. 81) ; but they are also excluded, in Philo's mind, because of their impure descent, by which they inherit the nature of sense-perception (**II. Post.** 177, **VII. Spec. Leg.** i. 333n, 327[N]). They signify those who attribute creation to (mind and) sense-perception (**II. Post.** 177). See also Moabites
- Amorites** : ' talkers ' (**I. Leg. All.** iii. 232, **IV. Quis Her.** 302), a figure of the uttered word (*ὁ γεγωνὸς λόγος*), especially plausible, sophistical speech (**Quis Her.** 302, 304) or unanalysed ways of thought (308). In **III. Quod Deus** 99 they represent the inward feelings which chase (**Deut.** i. 43f) those who do not achieve righteousness.

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- VI. *Mos.* i. 258-262 describes Israel's battle with them
- Amphiaraus : X. *Leg.* 78
- Amphilochus : X. *Leg.* 78
- Anak : II. *Post.* 60
- Anaphe : IX. *Aet.* 121 & n
- Anaxagoras : (V. *Fug.* 10 & n & [N], *Som.* i. 22 & n & [N]), IX. *Vit. Cont.* 14, *Aet.* 4, (47 & n)
- Anaxarchus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 106, 109
- Andro : IX. *Flacc.* 76
- Andros, Andrians : IX. *Flacc.* 151, 156-159, 161, 173, 185f
- Antigenidas : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 144 & n
- Antigonus Doson : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 114 & n
- Antisthenes : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 28
- Apelles : X. *Leg.* 203-206
- Aphrodite : VII. *Decal.* 54, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 59
- Apollo : VII. *Decal.* 54, X. *Leg.* 93, 95, 103-110
- Arabia, Arabians : VI. *Jos.* 15, *Mos.* i. 47, 51, VIII. *Virt.* 34
- Ares : X. *Leg.* 93, 97, 111-113 & nn
- Argo, Argonauts : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 128, 137n, 142f & n
- Argos : X. *Leg.* 281
- Aristippus : III. *Plant.* 151
- Aristotle : IX. *Aet.* 10, 12, 16, 18
- Arnon : a river forming the northern boundary of Moab and the Amorite country (*Num.* xxi. 28, I. *Leg. All.* iii. 225). It means 'their light' and signifies the reasoning, with boundary-stones of particular thoughts and judgements, which is the frontier of the mind (Moab), invaded by corrupting false opinion (Sihon, king of the Amorites), *ib.* 230

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Arphaxad : son of Shem, begotten when he was a hundred years old (Gen. xi. 10). Means ' he disturbed affliction ' : the soul's offspring harasses and destroys injustice, afflicted and full of evils as it is (V. *Mut.* 189). Philo is discoursing upon the perfect number one hundred

Artemis : VII. *Decal.* 54

Asa : (IV. *Conf.* 149)

Ascalon : IX. *Prov.* 2. 64, X. *Leg.* 205

Asenath : wife of Joseph, daughter of the priest of Heliopolis (Gen. xli. 45). Signifies the Senses, daughters of Mind (V. *Som.* i. 78 & n)

Asher : means ' felicitation ' and symbolizes natural wealth, which has the reputation of conferring felicity (V. *Som.* ii. 35). But he was the son of Leah's handmaid, and so in IV. *Mig.* 95 he is the symbol of counterfeit (bastard) wealth, outward and visible (*cf.* III. *Sob.* 12[N])

Asia, Asians : II. *Cher.* 63, III. *Quod Deus* 175, V. *Som.* ii. 54, VI. *Jos.* 134, *Mos.* i. 263, ii. 19f, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 94, 132, *Aet.* 141, *Flacc.* 46, X. *Leg.* 10, 22, 48, 88, 144, 245, 250, 280f, 283, 311

Assyria, Assyrians : means ' directing ' and stands for pleasure, which thinks that it can direct the course of human weakness (I. *Leg. All.* i. 69, 85-87). Philo is interpreting Gen. ii. 14, where the river Tigris (self-mastery) is said to flow over against Assyria. VI. *Mos.* i. 23 & [N], Assyrian letters

Athena : I. *Leg. All.* i. 15

Athens, Athenians : I. *Op.* 104, VI. *Abr.* 10, *Mos.* ii. 19, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 22, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 47, 127-129, 132, 137n, 140

Athos : V. *Som.* ii. 118

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Atlantic : III. *Ebr.* 133

Atlantis : IX. *Aet.* 141

Attica, Attic : II. *Post.* 94, IX. *Flacc.* 156, 173, X. *Leg.* 281

Augusta : see *s.vv.* Caesarea, Julia

Augustan House : IX. *Flacc.* 23, 49, 81, 103f, X. *Leg.* 48, 149, 322

Augustus : G. Julius Caesar Octavianus, first Emperor, 27 B.C.—A.D. 14, grandfather of Gaius Caesar (Caligula), IX. *Flacc.* 50, 74, 105, X. *Leg.* 143-158, 291, 305, 309-319, 322

Augustus : Gaius Caesar (Caligula), third Emperor, A.D. 37-41, X. *Leg.* 240, 322, 352. See *s.v.* Gaius

Aunan : IV. *Mig.* 164, 165 & n. Means 'eyes,' and so stands for the vision-lover, since the eyes of the soul are opened by cheerfulness. Eshcol (good natural ability) and Aunan are rewarded with Mamre (the contemplative life) for inheritance (Gen. xiv. 24)

Autolykus : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57

Avillius : see Flaccus

Baal : VI. *Mos.* i. 276n

Baal-Peor : " And Israel joined himself unto Baal-Peor " (Num. xxv. 3), perhaps 'Baal of Peor'; in any case the reference is to heathen cult. It occurs in the context of the incident of Phinehas leading to the Midianite war (see VIII. *Virt.* 34[N]), described in VI. *Mos.* i. 300-304, VIII. *Virt.* 34-46. So Philo interprets: Midianites (those 'sifted out' as unfit), initiated in the unholy rites of Baal-Peor, and widening all the orifices of the body to receive the streams which pour in from outside (for the meaning of Baal-

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- Peor is 'mouth of skin (or leather) above'—*ἀνωτέρω στόμα δέρματος*), flood the ruling mind and sink it (*V. Mut.* 106f). So Midian is also described as the nurse of things bodily, and Baal-Peor as her offspring, the heavy leathern weight (*δερμάτινον ὄγκον*, *IV. Conf.* 55 ; here Philo is interpreting *Num.* xxxi. 49 with xxv in mind). In *Deut.* iv. 3, 4 the Israelites are reminded of the fate of their fellows who sinned in following Baal-Peor and perished ; this allusion underlies Philo's exposition in *V. Fug.* 56, *VII. Spec. Leg.* i. 31 & n, 345 & n
- Babel : or 'Confusion' (*Gen.* xi. 9, *Lxx*, *A.V.* mg.), *II. Post.* 81, *IV. Conf.* 1, 183-195, *IV. Quis Her.* 228n, *V. Som.* ii. 283-290, 283n & [N], *VIII. Praem.* 23 [N], 111[N]
- Babylon, Babylonia : *II. Gig.* 66, *V. Som.* ii. 59, *VI. Abr.* 188, *Mos.* i. 5, 34, *VIII. Virt.* 223, *X. Leg.* 216, 282. Only in *Gig.* 66 does Philo allegorize ; Nimrod ('desertion') has Babylon ('alteration') as the beginning of his kingdom (*Gen.* x. 10, *Lxx*), for with every deserter change and alteration of purpose are the first steps
- Bacchants, Bacchic, Bacchus : *III. Plant.* 148, *IX. Vit. Cont.* 85, *X. Leg.* 96
- Balaam : 'foolish (or 'vain,' *μάταιος*) people' (*Cher.* 32, *Conf.* 159 & n, *Mig.* 113), a sophist, an empty (*μάταιος*) conglomeration of incompatible and discordant notions (*Det.* 71), a dealer in auguries and prodigies and in the vanity of unfounded conjecture (*Quod Deus* 181, *Conf.* 159, *Mut.* 202), dwells in Mid-River Land, for his understanding is submerged (*Conf.* 66) ; he is no heavenly growth, but a creature of earth (*Quod Deus* 181).

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With his soothsaying mock wisdom he defaces the stamp of heaven-sent prophecy (*Mut.* 202)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 210n, II. *Cher.* 32f, 35n, *Det.* 71, III. *Quod Deus* 53[N], 181, 183, IV. *Conf.* 66, 159, *Mig.* 113, 115, V. *Mut.* 202, VI. *Gen. Introd.* p. xv n, *Mos.* i. 263n & [N], 264-300, 282n, 294n, VIII. *Virt.* 34n & [N]

Balak : means ' foolish,' for it is the pitch of folly to hope that God should be deceived and His purpose upset by the devices of men (IV. *Conf.* 65, on Num. xxiii. 7f). The whole story of Balak and Balaam is told at length in VI. *Mos.* i. 263-300, 305. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 210n, VI. *Gen. Introd.* p. xv, VIII. *Virt.* 34n & [N]

Bassus : IX. *Flacc.* 92

Bassus : IX. *Flacc.* 109n, 109-114

Beersheba : the ' well of the oath ' is so named by Abraham and by Isaac (Gen. xxi. 31, III. *Plant.* 73f, 78 ; xxvi. 33, *Plant.* 78-84, V. *Som.* i. 8, 12, 14, 40). It is from Beersheba that Isaac departs to go to Haran (xxviii. 10, *Som.* i. 4, 5 & n, 6-13, 42, 61, 68). It represents the inexhaustible nature of knowledge (*Plant.* 78-84, *Som.* i. 42) ; also the endless quest of the fourth cosmic region, heaven (*Som.* i. 14-24)

Ben-Ammi : VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 333n

Benjamin : means ' Son of days ' (*Mut.* 92f, *Som.* ii. 36) and symbolizes vainglory, for the day is illumined by the sunlight visible to our senses, to which we liken vainglory (*Mut.* 92). This name is given him by his father, the head of the house, the reason ; but the soul (Rachel) calls him a Son of Sorrow, knowing by experience the unhappiness that goes with vainglory. Rachel

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died on giving birth to him, for the conception and birth of vainglory, the creature of sense, is in reality the death of the soul (*Mut.* 94-96). In *Som.* ii. 36, 41 the interpretation of his name is quite neutral : he is a symbol of time, both that of youth and that of old age, which are alike measured by days and nights. In *Mig.* 203 it is almost favourable : he is the offspring of sense-perception, and he receives from Joseph five changes of raiment because he deems the senses pre-eminent and deserving of adornment and honour. Naturally in the narrative of Joseph's life he is often mentioned (*Jos.* 167-236)

IV. *Mig.* 203, V. *Fug.* 73, *Mut.* 92-96, *Som.* ii. 33, 36, 41, VI. *Jos.* 167-236, 234n

Benoni : ' Son of my sorrow ' (*Mut.* 94-96). See *s.v.* Benjamin

Bered : Hagar's well was between Kadesh (holy) and Bered (in evils) ; he that is in gradual progress (Hagar symbolizes School learning) is on the border-land between the holy and the profane (*V. Fug.* 213)

Bethel : IV. *Conf.* 74, V. *Som.* i. 228 & n

Bethuel : father of Rachel (II. *Post.* 76), means ' Daughter of God ' and signifies Wisdom, an ever-virgin daughter, who by reason alike of her own modesty and the glory of Him that begot her hath obtained a nature free from every defiling touch. And Wisdom is not only masculine but father, begetting aptness to learn, sound sense, etc. (*V. Fug.* 48, 50-52). See also Laban

Bezaleel : the craftsman of the Tabernacle (*Exod.* xxxi. 2ff), filled with the spirit of God (II. *Gig.* 23). The name means ' In the shadow of God,'

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for Bezaleel made the copies only : Moses had already made the original archetypes (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 102, III. *Plant.* 26f, V. *Som.* i. 206). In *Som.* i. 207 his work typifies the variegated (see 207n) fabric of the world, the product of wisdom. In *Leg. All.* 95-99 it typifies the soul ; God's shadow is His Word, by which He made the world ; but this shadow is the archetype for further creations (and Philo applies this elaborately to Gen. i. 27)

Bias : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 153

Bilhah : handmaid of Rachel (III. *Quod Deus* 119-121, VIII. *Virt.* 223 & n, 224). The name means 'swallowing' and represents the necessary subsistence of the mortal life (I. *Leg. All.* i. 94-96, iii. 146, IV. *Congr.* 29f), which in turn is necessary to the higher, spiritual life (*Congr.* 33). Also VIII. *Gen.* Introd. p. xviii n

Bithynia : X. *Leg.* 281

Boeotia : X. *Leg.* 281

Boethus : IX. *Aet.* 76 & nn, 78

Brundisium : IX. *Flacc.* 26, 152, 173

Brutus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 118

Bura : IX. *Aet.* 140 & n

Buzyges, Buzygia : IX. *Hyp.* Introd. p. 407 n, 7, 8 & n & [N]

Caesar : Julius Caesar : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 118.

Caesar Augustus : see *s.v.* Augustus. Tiberius

Caesar : see *s.v.* Tiberius. Gaius Caesar

(Caligula) : IX. *Flacc.* 25, 35, 40, 42, X. *Leg.*

Introd. pp. xviii, xix, 280, 322, 352, 240 ; and

see *s.v.* Gaius. Claudius Germanicus Caesar :

X. *Leg.* 206

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Caesarea : **X. Leg.** 305 & n

Cain : 'possession' ; passively (Adam's possession) in *Cher.* 52, 124-126, but otherwise actively, as claiming that all things are his own possession (*Cher.* 57, 64-66, *Sac.* 2, 72, *cf. Det.* 32), and that even when he is incapable of ruling himself (*Cher.* 65f, *Post.* 42). He symbolizes the self-loving principle (*Sac.* 3, 51f, 71, *Det.* 32, 68, 78, *Post.* 21, *cf. Conf.* 128), ascribing all things to mind rather than God (*Sac.* 2f, *cf. 71f, Post.* 35, *cf. 42*),^a impious and godless (*Cher.* 65, *Sac.* 71, *Det.* 50, 103, 119, *Post.* 12, 34f, 42, *cf. 52, Conf.* 125) ; he is occupied with the lower, mortal, earthly level of life (*Det.* 119, *cf. 156f, Post.* 38, *cf. 172*), and is dead to the life directed by virtue (*Det.* 47, 69f, 78, *cf. 156, 165f, Post.* 45, *Conf.* 122), a deserter in the war against wickedness (*Post.* 172, *cf. Det.* 142, 165f), an example of worthlessness (*Det.* 140, 165), wickedness (*Det.* 68, 165, 167-169, *Post.* 172, *Fug.* 64) and depravity (*Conf.* 122). With him Philo associates false opinion and folly (*οἷσις*, *Cher.* 57 ; *εὐήθεια*, 65f ; *ἀτοπος δόξα*, *Sac.* 5 ; *ἀφροσύνη*, *Det.* 178, *Conf.* 165 ; *ἀπόνουα*, *Post.* 35). Often in these passages he is consciously contrasted with Abel

Cain was " a tiller of the ground " (*Gen.* iv. 2), but an unscientific one, no husbandman (*Agr.* 20-25, 27).^b His quarrel with Abel is interpreted thus : Cain aimed to draw Abel into a dispute and to

^a In *Det.* 167f (on *Gen.* iv. 15) Philo makes Cain the mind, the eighth part which is ruler of the seven irrational parts of the soul.

^b This must underlie Philo's remark in *Mig.* 74f that Cain has the cleverness of the town.

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master him with plausible sophistries (*Det.* 1, *cf.* 37, *Post.* 38, *Mig.* 74); in murdering Abel he only did away with himself (*Det.* 47, 50, 52, 69f, 78, *cf. Post.* 21; *cf. Post.* 45, *Conf.* 122) and succeeded in slaying only the impression, the specimen, not the original, the pattern, the class (*Det.* 75-78); Gen. iv. 11: he stood agape for all outward things, praying in his greed to take them in for the destruction of Abel (*Det.* 100-103); he was accursed (*Fug.* 60, *Virt.* 199f, *Praem.* 68-73)—indeed he must have been accursed from the very start (*Det.* 96),—and was doomed to fear and misery (*Det.* 119, 140, *Conf.* 165, *Virt.* 199f, *Praem.* 71, 72 & n); he “went out from the presence of the Lord” voluntarily (Adam was driven out): his was the moral failure which is of free choice, and therefore worse (*Post.* 10). Cain’s wife is the opinion held by an impious man’s reasoning faculty (*Post.* 33-39). He built a city, *i.e.*, he resolved to set up his own creed (*Post.* 49-51, 52f, 65, *Conf.* 122). Nothing is said of his death; so Philo uses this to declare that folly is a deathless evil (*Det.* 177f, *Post.* 39, *Conf.* 122, *Fug.* 60 & n, 61, 64, *Virt.* 200, *Praem.* 68-73)

- II. *Cher.* 12, 52, 53 & [N]-55, 64-66, 124-126, *Sac.* 1-3, 5, 11, 14, 51f, 71f, 88 & n, *Det.* 1, 32, 37, 47f, 50, 57, 61f, 68-70, 74, 75n, 78f, 96, 100, 103f, 119, 140-142, 163-169, 177f, *Post.* 1, 5f, 10, 12, 21, 33-35, 38f, 40, 42, 45, 48, 49-51, 52, 65, 124, 172, III. *Agr.* 20-25, 27, 127, *Sob.* 50 & n, IV. *Conf.* 122 & n, 124, 165, *Mig.* 74, *Congr.* 54[N], 171[N] V. *Fug.* 60 & n, 64 & n, *Mut.* 195f, VI. *Abr.* 12n & [N], VIII. Gen. Introd. xxi, *Virt.* 199f, *Praem.* 68-72, 68n, 72n

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Calanus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 93-96 & n & [N]

Caleb : VI. *Mos.* i. 232-236. In V. *Mut.* 123f, Num. xiv. 24 is taken as showing there was a total change of the man himself, because his name means 'all heart'

Callias : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57

Canaan, Canaanites : Canaan's father Ham saw Noah's nakedness and told his brothers, and Noah pronounced a curse on Ham (Gen. ix. 18-27). That Canaan, not Ham, is cursed leads Philo to say that it was Canaan reported abroad the incident (*Leg. All.* ii. 62).^a This publishing represents the accomplishment of evil which until then was only purposed (*ib.*) ; this hints at what Philo develops in another treatise, namely that Ham is vice in the quiescent state, but Canaan, which means 'tossing,' is vice when it passes into active movement (*Sob.* 30-34, 44-48, *Congr.* 81-88). Thus the Exodus is from passion (Egypt) to vice (*Congr.* 84), Canaan also symbolizing the stage of adolescence (82, 85). In *Sac.* 90 he applies 'tossing' differently : the land of the Canaanites is where reason is tossed to and fro. In *Post.* 122 the reference suggests that the Canaanites ('the people of the land') stand for opposing doctrines.

I. *Leg. All.* ii. 62, II. *Sac.* 90, *Post.* 122, III. *Sob.* 30-34, 44-48, 51, 69, IV. *Congr.* 71, 81-88, 87n, 121, V. *Fug.* 87, VI. Gen. *Intro.* p. xiv n, *Abr.* 77n, 85n, 133, *Mos.* i. 163, 214n, 220, (250) & n,

^a God's curse makes Canaan slave to Ham's brothers ; the fool is slave of the virtuous, either for improvement or for chastisement (*Sob.* 69).

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- VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 29n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 219n,
Virt. 202, 221 [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd.
 p. 4, *Hyp.* 6, 1n
- Capito : X. *Leg.* 199-202
- Carabas : IX. *Flacc.* 34n, 36-40
- Carthage : III. *Quod Deus* 174
- Castor and Pollux : VII. *Decal.* 56 & [N], X. *Leg.*
 78-92
- Castus : IX. *Flacc.* 86f
- Cenchreae : IX. *Flacc.* 155
- Chaereas : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 125
- Chaldaea, Chaldaeans : Chaldaea was famed for astrology (*Mig.* 178, *Som.* i. 53, *Abr.* 69), and so Abraham's connexion with Chaldaea is taken to imply he too was an astrologer (*Ebr.* 94, *Mig.* 177-181, *Quis Her.* 96f, *Abr.* 69-72, 82, *Virt.* 212 & n, *Praem.* 58), though at other times Philo makes the identification only allegorically. It is called, rather contemptuously, the 'Chaldaean δόξα—creed, opinion,' (e.g. *Gig.* 62, *Mig.* 187), and is contrasted unfavourably even with Haran (sense-perception). It represents the attempt to regard the physical universe as the only reality and to attribute causation to the heavenly bodies, thus honouring the created world before the Creator (*Mig.* 179, *Quis Her.* 97, 280, *Congr.* 49, *Mut.* 16, *Abr.* 69, *Virt.* 212f). Only once does Philo translate the name : in *Quis Her.* 97 he says it corresponds to 'even tenour or levelness'; it was the even tenour of the heavenly bodies that suggested this creed
- In the later treatises 'Chaldaean' is used for 'Hebrew' tongue (*Abr.* 8 & n, 12, 99, 201, *Mos.* ii. 26, 31, 38, 40, 224, *Praem.* 14, 23, 31, 44).

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Moses and Jacob are called Chaldaeans (*Mos. i. 5, Hyp. 6. 1 & n*), and Moses is said to have been trained in Chaldaean astronomy (*Mos. i. 23 & n*)

II. *Gig. 62*, III. *Ebr. 94*, IV. *Mig. 177-181, 184 & n, 187, Quis Her. 96-99, 277, 280, 289, Congr. 49f, V. Mut. 16, Som. i. 52-54, 161, VI. Abr. 8 & n, 12, 62n, 67-72, 77, 82, 99, 188, 201, Mos. i. 5, 23, ii. 26, 31, 38, 40, 224, VIII. Virt. 212n, 212-214, Praem. 14, 23, 31, 44, 58, IX. Hyp. 6. 1 & n*

Chananes : VI. *Mos. i. 250 & n*

Charybdis : V. *Som. ii. 70 & n*

Chedorlaomer : III. *Ebr. 24*

Chemosh : I. *Leg. All. iii. 225, 231* : Moab's people maimed and blinded ; for Chemosh means 'as a groping,' and groping is characteristic of one who cannot see

Cherubim : The Cherubim with flaming sword guarding Eden are an allegorical figure of the revolution of the whole heaven. One symbolizes the outer sphere of fixed stars, the other the inner contained sphere of the seven planetary zones (*Cher. 21-24*). The Cherubim over the mercy-seat of the ark suggest an alternative interpretation : they are the two hemispheres, circling round the earth ; the flaming sword on this interpretation is the sun (25f, *Mos. ii. 98*). But there is a third and higher interpretation : the Cherubim represent God's two chief potencies or powers, sovereignty and goodness, the sword is the symbol of reason, which unites them (27-30 ; so too, on the ark, *Quis Her. 166 & n, Fug. 100, Mos. ii. 99*). Philo translates the Cherubim as recognition or full knowledge (*Mos. ii. 97 & n*)

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- II. Cher.** 1 & n, 11, 20, 21-30 & 28[N], **IV. Quis Her.**
 166 & n, **V. Fug.** 100, **VI. Mos.** ii. 97-100
Cheth : see **Heth**
Chimera : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 45
Chrysippus : **IX. Aet.** 48 & [N], 90, 94
Cia : **IX. Flacc.** 156
Cilicia : **X. Leg.** 281
Claudia, Gens : **X. Leg.** 33 & n, 206
Cleanthes : **IX. Aet.** 90
Cleopatra : **X. Leg.** 135
Coele Syria : see *s.v.* **Syria**
Corinth : **V. Som.** ii. 55, **VI. Jos.** 132, **IX. Flacc.** 154f,
 173, **X. Leg.** 281
Corybants : **I. Op.** 71, **IV. Mig.** 35, **Quis Her.** 69,
IX. Flacc. 169
Crete : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 43, **X. Leg.** 282
Critolaus : **IX. Aet.** *Introd.* p. 176, 55ff, 70ff, 71n, 74
Croesus : **VI. Jos.** 133, **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 136, 153
 & n, **Prov.** 2. 7
Croton : **IX. Prov.** 2. 7
Cyclops : **IX. Vit. Cont.** 40f, **Prov.** 2. 66 & n
Cynic : **III. Plant.** 151
Cyprus : **X. Leg.** 282
Cythnus : **IX. Flacc.** 156

Daedalus : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 44
Damascus : **Gen.** xv. 2, **IV. Quis Her.** 2 & n, 54f, 58,
 61. Means ' the blood of a sackcloth robe ' ; by
 ' sackcloth robe ' he intimates the body, and by
 ' blood ' the blood-life ; the substance of the
 soul is twofold, blood being that of the soul as a
 whole, and the divine breath or spirit that of its
 most dominant part (54f)
Damocles : (**IX. Prov.** 2. 29f)
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- Dan** : I. *Leg. All.* ii. 94-108, III. *Agr.* 94-123 & 95[N], *Sob.* 58[N], V. *Som.* ii. 35, 39. In *Som.* ii. 35 Dan is the symbol of distinguishing and analysing matters. In *Leg. All.* ii. 94ff and *Agr.* 94ff Philo allegorizes the reference to Dan in the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. xlix. 16-18). Dan, offspring of Bilhah, typifies the soul's second and perishable offspring. His name means 'sifting': for this race distinguishes and separates things immortal from those that are mortal. So his father prays that he may prove a lover of self-mastery. (This is worked out in detail according to the text. *Leg. All.* ii. 94-108 ; cf. *Agr.* 95[N] and 94ff)
- Dardania** : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 115 & n
- Darius** : (IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 132, cf. 136)
- David** : IV. *Conf.* 149, VIII. *Virt.* 221[N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* p. 5 (-6)n
- Delos** : IX. *Aet.* 120, 121 & n
- Delphi** : II. *Post.* 113 & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 19, *Prov.* 2. 33, X. *Leg.* 69
- Demeter** : I. *Op.* 133, VII. *Decal.* 54, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 40 & [N], IX. *Vit. Cont.* 3
- Democritus** : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 14 & n, 15, *Aet.* 8
- Deucalion** : VIII. *Praem.* 23 & [N]
- Dibon** : I. *Leg. All.* iii. 225, 233 ; a name given to going to law, for probabilities and plausible arguments involve trial and disputation and everything of that sort
- Dicaearchia (Puteoli)** : IX. *Flacc.* 27 & n, X. *Leg.* 185
- Dinah** : Gen. xxxiv. Means 'judgement' and signifies the soul's court of justice ; the virgin soul is not to be ravished by the shameless fool (IV. *Mig.* 223, 224 & n, V. *Mut.* 194f)
- Diogenes the Babylonian** : IX. *Aet.* 77 & n

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Diogenes the Cynic : III. *Plant.* 151, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 121n, 121-124, 157

Dion : IX. *Aet.* 48-51, 48[N]

Dionysius, of Alexandria : IX. *Flacc.* 20 & [N]

Dionysius of Sicily, the Elder : IX. *Prov.* 2. 26-32, 26n

Dionysius of Sicily, the Younger : VI. *Jos.* 132 & n

Dionysus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 130, X. *Leg.* 78-96

Dioscuri : VII. *Decal.* 56 & [N], X. *Leg.* 78-92

Doric : V. *Som.* ii. 55

Dothaim, Dothan : II. *Det.* 5, 28, V. *Fug.* 127f. Means 'thorough quitting'; Joseph's brethren have whole-heartedly set themselves to study how to quit all that does not contribute to virtue

Drusilla : IX. *Flacc.* 56 & n & [N]

Eden : The Garden (*παράδεισος*) signifies the ruling power of the soul, which is full of countless opinions, as it might be of plants (*Op.* 154); for its plants are endowed with soul or reason, bearing the virtues for fruit (*ib.*, *cf. Leg. All.* i. 46, 53-55, 64, 89, *Plant.* 37, *Conf.* 61, *Mig.* 37). Elsewhere Philo treats the Garden as meaning earthly wisdom, a copy of the heavenly (*Leg. All.* i. 43, 64; contrast *Plant.* 40, *Som.* ii. 242), virtue or excellence or joy (*Leg. All.* i. 45, *Cher.* 12f, *Mig.* 37), or right reason (*ὁ ὀρθὸς λόγος*, *Leg. All.* i. 46, *cf. Post* 32). The whole universe (*Plant.* 45) and the placing of man in it signifies the gift of facility in apprehending (*ib.*, *Leg. All.* i. 45). But his hiding in it is made to mean hiding in the garden of the soul, for he that runs away from God takes refuge in himself (*Leg. All.* iii. 28)

Its name Eden literally means 'luxuriance' (*τρυ-*

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φῆ,^a *Leg. All.* i. 45, *Post.* 32, *cf. Plant.* 38; 'delight,' *Som.* ii. 242); symbolically it means right and divine reason (*Post.* 32, *cf. Plant.* 37f), wisdom of God (*Som.* ii. 242). It is situated "toward the sun-rising" (*Gen.* ii. 8) because right reason, wisdom or the heavenly virtues are radiant and without setting (*Leg. All.* i. 46, *Plant.* 40, *Conf.* 61)

In *Op.* 153, *Leg. All.* i. 43, *Plant.* 32, *Conf.* 61 Philo insists upon the impropriety of thinking of a literal garden

I. *Op.* 153-155, *Leg. All.* i. 41, 43-47, 53-56, 63f, 88-90, 96f, 100f, iii. 1, 28-31, II. *Cher.* 1n, 12f, *Post.* 1, 32, 128, III. *Plant.* 32-46, IV. *Mig.* 37, *Congr.* 171 & [N], V. *Som.* ii. 241f

Edom: signifies the earthly one^b (*Quod Deus* 144), all that is good in outward appearance (for all things whose goodness lies in mere seeming are of earth (148; so 166, 180, *Mig.* 146))

II. *Post.* 101, III. *Quod Deus* 144f, 148, 166, 180, IV. *Mig.* 146

Egypt, Egyptians: These nearly always symbolize the body^c or passions^d or both^e; or the adject-

^a So the later LXX; but 'Eḏēmu in Genesis. Eden is from a different Hebrew root than that for 'luxury.'

^b From I. ארץ, man, ארמה, ground, instead of II. אדם, red.

^c Body, *Leg. All.* ii. 59, 77, iii. 37, 212, 242, *Sac.* 130, *Det.* 38, *Post.* 60-62, *cf.* 158, *cf. Ebr.* 95 & [N], *Ebr.* 208, *cf. Sob.* 13, *Conf.* 70, 92, *Mig.* 23, 154, *Quis Her.* 256, 315, *Congr.* 20f, *Fug.* 180, *cf.* 147f, *Mut.* 173f, 209, *Som.* ii. 258, 277f, *cf. Abr.* 103, *Jos.* 151f.

^d Passions, *Leg. All.* ii. 84 & [N], 103, iii. 13, 37f, 81, 87, 94, 175, *Sac.* 51, 62, 134, *Det.* 46, 95, *Ebr.* 111, 209, *Conf.* 70, *Mig.* 202, *Quis Her.* 255 & n, *Congr.* 83 (tr. 'sense'), 84f, 87 & n, 163f, *Fug.*, *Mut.* 172, *Som.* ii. 269, 278, 281.

^e *Sac.* 48, *Post.* 96, 155, *Quod Deus* 111, *Agr.* 64, 88,

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tives body-loving, passion-loving, pleasure-loving^a are used. The wickedness and vices of Egypt are also mentioned (*Leg. All.* iii. 38, *Som.* ii. 255, *cf.* 266), and Israel's sojourn there signifies the dissolute and licentious life (*Post.* 156, *cf.* *Det.* 95); or it is a childhood stage to be left behind (*Congr.* 85), its fleshpots contrasted with the wilderness manna (*Quis Her.* 79f). It is earthly (*Congr.* 20)

Other interpretations are also given. Egypt represents sense (*αἰσθησις*, *Mig.* 77, *Quis Her.* 315, *Congr.* 83, *cf.* 21, *Mut.* 117-119), the mortal element or values (*Det.* 95f, *cf.* *Quis Her.* 316), the lower education (*Congr.* 20, *cf.* *Som.* i. 240), unholy doctrines (*Conf.* 36). The King of Egypt is thus the body-loving mind (*Abr.* 103, *Jos.* 151f), the boastful mind (*Ebr.* 111), rebellious against God (*Conf.* 88, *Congr.* 118), the power that flings away all ideas of what is noble (*Det.* 95); he is the sovereign of all that is animal and composite (*Sac.* 48), the king of terror (*Mut.* 173).^b And the Nile, or river Egyptus (*Quis Her.* 315, 316 & n, *Som.* ii. 255-259), represents speech (*Som.* ii. 255-259, 300 & [N]) or the tide of passions (*Conf.* 29f, *Som.* ii. 277f). The arrogance of the Egyptians is mentioned (*Agr.* 62) and their jealousy (*Flacc.* 129) and folly (*Sac.* 51, *Mut.* 170, *cf.* *Leg.* 163),

Conf. 81f, 88-90, *Mig.* 14-16, 18, 20f, 77, 151, 160-162, *Fug.* 18, *Som.* ii. 109, 255f.

^a φιλοσώματος, *Conf.* 70, *Mig.* 16, *Abr.* 103, *Jos.* 151f; φιλοπαθής, *Sac.* 51, *Mig.* 77, 202; φιλήδονος, *Leg. All.* iii. 37f, 212, 242, *Agr.* 88, *cf.* *Det.* 95, *Mig.* 18, 29, *Quis Her.* 203, 272, *Congr.* 84, *Fug.* 147f, *cf.* *Mut.* 174, *Som.* ii. 278.

^b See further *s.v.* Pharaoh.

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but especially their godlessness (*ἄθεος*, *Quis Her.* 203, etc.; cf. *Leg.* 163) in worshipping the animals or the Nile (*Leg. All.* iii. 212, *Fug.* 180 & n, *Jos.* 254, *Mos.* ii. 194-196, *Decal.* 76ff & n & [N], *Vit. Cont.* 8 & n, 9, *Leg.* 163); and the worship of the Golden Calf is usually regarded as a revival of this (*Sac.* 130, *Post.* 2 & [N], 158, 165, *Ebr.* 95 & [N], *Mig.* 160 & [N], *Fug.* 90, *Mos.* ii. 161f & n, 169, 270, *Spec. Leg.* i. 79, iii. 125)

An allusion is made in *Quod Deus* 174, *Jos.* 135 to the great Egyptian empire of ancient times

- I. Gen. Intro. p. xvi, *Leg. All.* ii. 59, 77, 83-87 & [N], 103, iii. (3), 13, 37f, 81, 94, 175, 212, (243), II. *Sac.* 48, 51, 62 & [N], 118, 130, 134, *Det.* 38f, 46, 91 [N], 93-95, 177, III. *Quod Deus* 111, 174, *Agr.* 62, 64, 84, 88f, *Ebr.* 36, 95 & [N], 111, 208-210, *Sob.* 13, IV. *Conf.* 29f, 36, 70, 72, 81f, 88-90, 92, *Mig.* 14, 15 & n, 16-26 & n, 29, 54, 76f, 83n, 141, 142n, 151, 154, 159-162 & 160 [N], 200-202, 204, 215, *Quis Her.* 79f, 203, 242 [N], 251, 255f & n, 315f, *Congr.* 1, 20f, 71, 83-87 & n, 118, 163f, V. *Fug.* 18f, 90, 147n, 148, 179f & n, *Mut.* 20, 97, 117-119, 125, 126n, 170-174 & nn, 208f, *Som.* i. 114, 220, 240, ii. 5, 43, 88, 106, 109, 123, 189, 216, 255-259, 266, 269, 277-281, 300 & [N]-302, VI. Gen. Intro. pp. xii, xiii, *Abr.* 92f, 103, 107, 251, *Jos.* 3 [N], 15, 27, 37, 117, 121, 135, 151f, 157 & n, 159, 161, 184, 186, 188, 195f, 201, 203, 237f, 242, 248, 250f, 254f, 259, *Mos.* i. 5f, 17, 21, 23f & nn, 34, 36, (47), 71, 81, 85f, 91, 96, 99, 100ff, 107, 109, 112-118, 120-122, 134ff, 143ff, 147, 149, 163f, 167, 171f, 178f, 193, 202, 210, 216, 237, 240, 247, 284, 290, ii. 1, 19, 29, 161f & n, 169, 193-195, 246,

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- 248, 270, VII. *Decal.* 76 & n & [N], 80, *Spec. Leg.* i. 2 & n & [N], 5, 79, 101n, 133 [N], ii. 145n, 146, 148[N], 164[N], 204[N], 217, 250, iii. 23, 125, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 2[N], 158n, *Virt.* 17[N], 103n, 106f, 139[N], *Praem.* 78[N], 90, 124n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73[N], 125, *Vit. Cont.* *Intro.* pp. 295, 298 & n, 2 & n, 3, 17, 29, 43, 45, 78, 80, 92f, 130[N], 131[N], 152, 158, 163, *Hyp.* 6. 1, *Prov.* 2. 65, X. *Leg.* *Intro.* pp. xv, xxiv, 138f, 148, 163, 166, 205, 250, 281, 338
- Elea : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 106 (Zeno)
- Eleazar (Exod. xxviii. 1) : V. *Som.* ii. 186, VI. *Mos.* ii. 276 & n
- Eli : III. *Ebr.* 146n
- Eliezer (Gen. xv. 2) : IV. *Quis Her.* 2 & n, 39, 52, 54, 58
- Eliezer (Exod. xviii. 4) : IV. *Quis Her.* 59f
- Elijah : III. *Quod Deus* 136, 138
- Elim : V. *Fug.* 183, 187, 'gateways,' a figure of the entrance to virtue through the preliminary exercises of the Schools. In VI. *Mos.* i. 188f the twelve springs and seventy palm trees of Elim are allegorized
- Eliphaz : IV. *Congr.* 54-56, father of Amalek, 'God hath dispersed me'—the soul rejected by God, which then begets passion
- Elis : III. *Agr.* 119
- Elizabeth : II. *Post.* 76
- Elzaphan : I. *Leg. All.* ii. 58
- Enaim : V. *Fug.* 149
- Enoch (Gen. iv. 17) : offspring of Cain and his opinion ; means 'thy gift,' and represents those who are beholden to the human mind for everything (in contrast to Enoch, descendant of Seth,

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Gen. v. 3-24, *Post.* 41), II. *Post.* 33, 35, 40, 66, IV. *Conf.* 122-127

Enoch (Gen. v. 18-24) : means ' thy gift ' (χάρις σου, cf. κεχαρισμένος, *Abr.* 17), and signifies those who acknowledge all as from God the Universal Mind (*Post.* 41f). Enoch's translation (LXX, " he was not found, because God translated him ") indicates that such people are seldom found, because they escape from the wickedness of this life, translated by God (*Post.* 40-44, *Mut.* 34-38). In each case Philo seems to understand the ' translated ' as both an ordinary removal, literal and metaphorical, and as a ' translation ' to immortality (cf. *Quaest. in Gen.* 86, *Abr.* 17[N]). In *Abr.* 17-26, 47 this change is one of heart (repentance) or of abode (seclusion), and the immortality seems to be associated with his finding company with those who are immortalized in their works.^a In *Praem.* 15-21 the change of abode is a removal from the familiar surroundings of the old life of passion to solitude

II. *Post.* 40-44, V. *Mut.* 34 & n & [N]-38, VI. Gen. Introd. p. x, *Abr.* 17 & n & [N]-26, 47f, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi, *Praem.* 15 & n-21, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 63n

Enos : ' Man ' hopes in God (Gen. iv. 26, LXX), and Enos is thus made the founder of the truly reasonable race (Gen. v. 1) (II. *Det.* 138-140, VI. *Abr.* 7-16, 12n). As the representative of hope he figures in the first triad (Enos, Enoch,

^a In this treatise Philo is contrasting the triad Enos, Enoch, Noah, who yearn for virtue, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, who achieve it (47f).

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Noah), contrasted with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (VI. Gen. Introd. p. x, *Abr.* 7-16, 47f), a type of those who yearn for virtue but do not attain to it. Similarly VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi, *Praem.* 13 & n, 14

Ephraim : Ephraim is the figurative name of Memory, meaning 'fruitbearing': for the soul's proper fruit is to retain what it learns (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 90-93, III. *Sob.* 27f, IV. *Mig.* 205f, *Congr.* 40f, V. *Mut.* 97f). In *Leg. All.* iii. 94 & n Ephraim typifies those who (? remember to) sacrifice the Passover in the first month (Num. ix. 6ff). In *Mut.* 97f, 101f his association with Reuben (Gen. xlviii. 5) is fitting, because of the kinship of Memory with natural excellence. In all these passages he is favourably contrasted with his elder brother Manasseh ('recollection')

Ephron : IV. *Conf.* 79. Ephron, from whom Abraham bought Machpelah (Gen. xxiii), means 'clay,' and represents the Hittite preference for mortality, clay, and dust rather than the soul

Epicurus : II. *Post.* 2 & [N], IX. *Aet.* 8

Equestrian Order : X. *Leg.* 74

Equinoxes : I. *Op.* 116, *Leg. All.* i. 8 & n

Er : Er, slain by God (Gen. xxxviii. 7), means 'leathern' and typifies the body, especially as something corpse-like, and those who love it. I. *Leg. All.* iii. 69-75, II. *Post.* 180

Esau : Philo's interpretation of Esau is nearly always suggested by some phrase from the narratives of Gen. xxv or xxvii rather than by his etymology of the name, which is more than usually absurd. So too Esau is most often named in contrast to Jacob

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Mainly, Esau typifies the bad man or vice, in pursuit of the passions and bodily lusts,^a the worse part of the soul (*Fug.* 24, 42f), the base and irrational nature (*Leg. All.* iii. 88f); or he represents folly.^b Here Philo sometimes appeals to a fanciful derivation ^c and progress of ideas, which may be summarized as √πῆγ—ποίημα—fiction, to which belongs folly, or √ργ—δρῦς—oak—stubbornness—folly. Only in *Quis Her.* 251-254 does Philo suggest an altogether different interpretation; here Esau is passion (πάθος), pursued and supplanted by Jacob, by acquired skill a hunter for the good, in a sense, but slow and procrastinating (Jacob anticipated him with the venison)

Other details are suggested by texts. For instance, Esau being a man of the fields (ἄγρικός, in contrast to Jacob, who was a 'simple' man, ἁπλᾶστος, dwelling in the city, *Gen.* xxv. 27, LXX), is interpreted as vice unfit to dwell in the city of virtue, following rustic grossness (*Leg. All.* iii. 2, ἀγροικία), the friend of fiction and make-up (*Plant.* 44, *Congr.* 62, playing on the ἁπλᾶστος (Jacob) of the text and the derivation Esau—ποίημα). In *Praem.* 59 the text has coloured Philo's description of Esau's character as wild (ἄγριος) and fierce. Esau was hairy, Jacob smooth (*xxvii.* 11): thus he is contrasted with

^a *Leg. All.* (ii. 59), iii. 2, 191f, *Sac.* 81 & n, 120 (*contr. Quis Her.* 251-254), 135, *Ebr.* 9f, *Det.* 45f, *Mig.* 208 & n, *Congr.* 129, *Fug.* 24, 43, *Virt.* 210, *Praem.* 62.

^b *Leg. All.* iii. 193, *Sac.* 17 & [N], *Ebr.* 9f, *Sob.* 26, *Congr.* 61, 175, *Virt.* 209, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 57. Ignorance, *Fug.* 39.

^c *Sac.* 17 & [N], *Congr.* 61, *Fug.* 39, 42.

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the soul stripping bodily passions (*Leg. All.* ii. 59), with the man of single aim (*Mig.* 153). Esau sold his birthright when weak from hunting (xxvi. 33): this represents his bodily and unspiritual desires (*Leg. All.* iii. 191, *Virt.* 208, *cf. Sac.* 121), or his recognition that he has no claim to spiritual values (*Sac.* 17), or the defeat of the bad man by reason (*Gen.* xxvi. 29, *Sac.* 81 & n), the inferiority of folly (*Sob.* 26—if it refers to this). Further examples may be found by reference to the Scripture Index, particularly *s.v.* *Gen.* xxv. 23 and xxvii. 40, 42-45

- I. *Leg. All.* ii. 59, iii. 2, 88f, 191-195, II. *Sac.* 17f & [N], 81 & n, 120, 135, *Det.* 45f, III. *Plant.* 44, *Ebr.* 9f, *Sob.* 26, IV. *Mig.* 153, 208 & n-211, *Quis Her.* 251-254 & n, *Congr.* 54, 61f, 129, 175f, V. *Fug.* 4, 23-25 & n & [N], 39, 42f, *Mut.* 230, VI. *Mos.* i. 240-242, VIII. *Virt.* 206n, 208 & [N]-210, *Praem.* 59, 61n, 62f, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* *Intro.* p. 4, 57

Eshcol: IV. *Mig.* 164f. Means 'fire' and symbolizes good natural ability, which like fire is full of daring and is hot and fastens on whatever it touches. See *s.v.* Aunan

Essenes: IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75 & [N]-91, *Vit. Cont.* 1 & n, 2 [N], 90n, *Hyp.* ii. 1-18, 1n, 14n

Etesian Winds: VI. *Mos.* i. 115, IX. *Flacc.* 26

Ethiopia, Ethiopian: I. *Leg. All.* i. 63, 68, 85, ii. 67 & [N], III. *Quod Deus* 174, VI. *Mos.* i. 99, IX. *Flacc.* 43

- (a) *Gen.* ii. 13, Ethiopia, 'lowness,' signifies cowardice (*Leg. All.* i. 68)
- (b) *Num.* xii. 1ff, the Ethiopian wife of Moses signifies unalterable resolve, the nature tried

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by fire ; black like the pupil of the eye, she represents the soul's power of vision (*Leg. All.* ii. 67 & [N])

Euboea : *X. Leg.* 282

Euodus : *IX. Flacc.* 76

Euphrates : *I. Leg. All.* i. 63, 72, 85-87, *IV. Quis Her.* 315f, *V. Som.* ii. 255-258, 300, *VI. Abr.* 266, *VIII. Virt.* 223, *X. Leg.* 10, 207, 216, 259

(a) *Gen.* ii. 14, means 'fruitfulness' and is a figurative name for justice (*Leg. All.* i. 72, 85-87), a virtue which brings gladness to the mind (*εὐφραίνουσα*)

(b) *Gen.* xv. 18, represents the wisdom of God, full of joy and gladness (*εὐφροσύνη*, *Quis Her.* 315f)

(c) *Ib.*, represents the soul and the soul's virtues (*Som.* ii. 255-258)

Euripides : *I. Leg. All.* i. 7 & n, iii. 202 & n, *VI. Jos.* 78 & n, *VIII. Spec. Leg.* iv. 47 & n, *IX. Quod Omn. Prob.* 25, 99 & n & [N], 101 & n, 102f, 116 & n, 141 & n, 146 & n, 152 & n, *Aet.* 5f, 30, 144

Eurystheus : *IX. Quod Omn. Prob.* 120

Eve^a : Eve is consistently^b made to represent Sense-perception,^c the details of the narrative in *Gen.* ii and iii giving colour to this emphasis or that. Thus sometimes Sense-perception is contrasted with Mind (Adam), sometimes with Pleasure (the serpent)^d

^a Eve is mentioned by name comparatively seldom (*Leg. All.* ii. 79-81, *Cher.* 54, 57, 60, *Post.* 33, 124, *Agr.* 95-99, 107f, *Congr.* 171 & [N]).

^b *Agr.* 95-99 is hardly an exception. See below.

^c *Op.* 165, *Leg. All.* ii. 5f, 9, 14, 24, 38-45, 49f, 53, 68-70, iii. 49f, 56-68, 182, 184f, 200, 216, 220-224, *Cher.* 40, 43, 57-65, *Post.* 124-126, 170 ; cf. *Agr.* 95-99.

^d Eve is contrasted with the animals, the passions, in *Leg.*

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The creation of man " male and female " (*Op.* 76, *Leg. All.* ii. 13, *Quis Her.* 164) calls for no comment ; but the creation of Eve from Adam's side (*Gen.* ii. 18ff) is seen to have significance. It must not be taken literally (*Leg. All.* ii. 19 ; *cf.* *Op.* 156f). We learn that man's helper is a created one, formed subsequent to man (*Leg. All.* ii. 5, 24 ; *cf.* 73), and represents Sense or Sense-perception (*αἴσθησις*), which completes man's soul (*ib.* 24, *Cher.* 58-60), adding to the activity of mind the passivity of the senses (*ib.* 38f) ; thus turning a quiescent potentiality into a reality, an activity (38, 40, 44f), and pouring light into the mind (*Cher.* 61). This creation out of Adam reveals that the starting-point of sense is mind (*Leg. All.* iii. 185). Adam united to his wife as " one flesh " indicates the degrading of mind into sense-perception (ii. 49f, *cf.* *Gig.* 65), and the begetting of bodily pleasure (*Op.* 152f) ; thus woman is for man the beginning of a blame-worthy life (*Op.* 151). Their nakedness (*Leg. All.* ii. 53, 68-70 ; contrast iii. 56-58) suggests the imperfection and powerlessness of mind and sense-perception, each of which can dominate the other

The Temptation and Fall is also a myth (*μύθου πλάσματα*, *Op.* 156). The serpent represents pleasure, and appropriately " beguiles " the senses first and through them reaches the mind (*Op.* 165), which apprehends simultaneously (*Leg.*

All. ii. 5f, 9-14 ; with Adam, mind, in *Leg. All.* ii. 38-43, 49f, 56-58, 222-224, *Gig.* 65, *Quis Her.* 52f, with the serpent, pleasure, in *Leg. All.* iii. 61-64, 66-68, 183-185 ; with wisdom in *Quis Her.* 52f.

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All. iii. 59f) ; for sense-perception “ gives ” without guile (*ib.* 61-64). She is so beguiled by pleasure because she is morally neutral : whether she is good or bad depends upon whether she is in the wise man or the fool (*ib.* 66-68) ; therefore she is not condemned outright like pleasure, but given an opportunity of defence. The disobedience of Adam and Eve having been discovered, God called mind only, not sense-perception, which being irrational cannot receive instruction and is merely included in the call of mind (*ib.* 49f). Questioned, Adam says, “ The woman whom Thou gavest with me, she gave me.” This indicates that sense is free (“ with,” not “ to ”), independent of mind (contrast ii. 68-70) ; it apprehends simultaneously “ with ” mind and “ gives ” to it opportunities of apprehending (*iii.* 56-58)

In *Op.* 157 their crime seems to be chiefly one of omission : they passed by the tree of life immortal, the consummation of virtue

God’s curse upon the serpent includes “ enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed.” This is because pleasure is really a foe to sense (*Leg. All.* iii. 182), and warfare takes place over what is on the boundary between the two realms. They have opposing “ seed,” for the starting-point for pleasure is passion, while that of sense is mind (184f). The curse upon Eve tells us that as sense she must be subject to grief and with pangs bring forth perception (*Leg. All.* iii. 200, 216). Her resort shall be to her husband—she has two, the lawful one being mind, the other a seducer, known when

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the objects of perception dominate irrational sense (220f). The curse upon Adam shows that it is profitless for mind to listen to sense-perception, for that means the rule of the inferior (222f; cf. ii. 49f)

The expulsion from Eden illustrates God's expulsion of evil-mindedness from the holy boundaries (*Congr.* 171 & [N])

"Adam called his wife's name Eve,^a because she was the mother of all living" (Gen. iii. 20). In *Cher.* 57 this means sense is the source of life to all living bodies. In *Agr.* 95-99 woman is life, depending upon the senses and material substances of our bodies (*αἰσθησεως καὶ σαρκῶν ἐκκρεμαμένη ζωή*). In *Quis Her.* 52f (where Philo is discussing Masek, Gen. xv. 2) Adam gave sense the name of what was his own death to her life, for she is the mother of those who are in truth dead to the life of the soul; those who are really living have wisdom for their mother, but sense they take for a bond-woman

Eve bore Cain; so sense bears vanity of thought (*Cher.* 57, cf. 61-65). This, which implies the union of mind with sense, is reprehensible, and that is why men like the patriarchs did not know women (*Cher.* 40, 43). On the other hand, Eve's giving birth to Seth is more favourably regarded: the senses are watered from the mind and so broaden and extend their powers

I. Gen. Introd. p. xiii, *Op.* 76, 151-153, 156f, 165, 167, *Leg. All.* ii. 1, 5, 8f, 13f, 19, 24, 38-45, 49f, 53, 68-70, 73, 79, 81, iii. 1, 49f, 56-68, 182, 184f, 188, 200, 216, 220-224, II. *Cher.* 40, 43, 53f, 57-65,

^a See note *a* on p. 311.

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- Sac.* 1, *Post.* 33, 124-126, 170, *Gig.* 65, *III. Agr.* 95-99, 107f, *Ebr.* 4n, *IV. Quis Her.* 52f, 164, *Congr.* 171 & [N], *VI. Mos.* i. 263 [N], *VIII. Virt.* 199
- Evilat : *I. Leg. All.* i. 63, 66f, 74f, 85f, is the kindly and gracious disposition where lies God's greatest treasure, prudence (66f) ; it is folly ' in travail ' for the foolish mind travails for its desires but is powerless to bring to birth (74f, 85f)
- Evius : *X. Leg.* 96
- Flaccus Avillius : *IX. Flacc. passim*
 Flaccus, G. Norbanus : *X. Leg.* 314f
- Gad : *V. Som.* ii. 35, 40. Symbol of piratical attack and counter-attack
- Gaidad : son of Enoch (*Gen.* iv. 18), ' flock,' symbolic of the irrational faculties (*II. Post.* 66, 69)
- Gaius Caesar : *IX. Flacc.* 9-15, 22, 25f, 31f, 35, 40, 42, 97-100, 108f, 114, 126, 150, 180ff, *X. Leg.* 32-39, 41-119, 133f, 136f, 141, 162-165, 168, 180-209, 218, 230-232, 239-242, 244, 247-251, 253-373
- Gaius Flaccus : *X. Leg.* 314f
- Galilee : *X. Leg.* 326
- Ganymede : *IX. Prov.* 2. 7
- Geloans : *III. Ebr.* 174
- Genesis : *I. Op.* 12, *II. Post.* 127, *VI. Abr.* 1, *IX. Aet.* 19
- Geon : one of the four rivers of *Gen.* ii. 13 ; means ' breast ' or ' butting ' (*κερατίζων*), figurative of courage (*I. Leg. All.* i. 63, 68, 85f, *II. Post.* 128)
- Germanicus : see Caesar
- Germany, Germans : *V. Som.* ii. 121f & [N], *X. Leg.* 10, 356 & n
- Geryon : *X. Leg.* 80

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- Gideon : ' robbers' hold,' ready to destroy Penuel (Judges viii. 9). IV. *Conf.* 129-132, *cf.* VIII. *Praem.* 4-6[N]
- Gilead : ' migration of witness ' : for God caused the soul (Jacob) to migrate from the passions (Laban), and bore witness to it . . . etc. (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 16, 19). ' Heap of witness ' : for the mind is witness of each man's secret purposes (II. *Post.* 59 & [N]). Also IV. *Congr.* 43
- Gog : VI. *Mos.* i. 290n
- Gomorrhah : III. *Ebr.* 222, V. *Som.* i. 85, ii. 191f (' measure,' figuring those who make man the measure of all), VI. *Abr.* 1 & n, *Mos.* ii. 52-65, 263, *cf.* i. 207, IX. *Aet.* 147[N]
- Gorgon : X. *Leg.* 237
- Goshen : VI. *Jos.* 256n
- Graces, The : VI. *Abr.* 54, *Mos.* ii. 7, X. *Leg.* 95, 105
- Great Bear : I. *Op.* 114, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 57
- Greece ^a : III. *Quod Deus* 173, VI. *Jos.* 134, *Mos.* i. 21, ii. 18, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 16, VIII. *Praem.* 165, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73, 94, 132, 138, 140, *Vit. Cont.* 14, 57, *Prov.* 2. 15, 66, X. *Leg.* 141, 147, 237
- Greek, Greeks ^a : I. *Op.* 127, *Leg. All.* ii. 15, II. *Cher.* 91, III. *Plant.* 14, 67, *Ebr.* 193, IV. *Conf.* 6, 68, *Quis Her.* 214, V. *Mut.* 35, 179, VI. *Abr.* 136, 180, 267, *Jos.* 30, 56, 134, *Mos.* i. 2, 21, 23, ii. 12, 18, 20, 23, 27, 40, VII. *Decal.* 153, *Spec. Leg.* i. 211, ii. 44, 165, iii. 15, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 61, 120, *Praem.* 8, 23, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 88, 94, 96, 98, 140, *Vit. Cont.* 14, 21, 42, 48, 68, *Aet.* 57, X. *Leg.* 8, 83, 145, 162, 237, 292
- Greek language, The ^a : I. *Op.* 127, IV. *Conf.* 6, 68,

^a Some overlapping in these three divisions is inevitable.

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190, *Congr.* 37, VI. *Abr.* 17, 27, 99, 201, *Jos.* 28, *Mos.* ii. 31f, 38, 40, 97, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 194, VIII. *Praem.* 14, 23, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75

Gyara : IX. *Flacc.* 151 & n

Gymnosophists : V. *Som.* ii. 56, VI. *Abr.* 182, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 43n, 74 & [N], 93, 96n

Hades : a mythical place (IV. *Congr.* 57), the resort of those who look to created things (IV. *Quis Her.* 45), the spiritually blind (*ib.* 78) ; the life of the bad, a life of damnation and bloodguiltiness, the victim of every curse (ὁ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος καὶ πάσαις ἀραῖς ἔνοχος, *Congr.* 57) ; cf. V. *Som.* i. 151. Also VI. *Mos.* ii. 281, X. *Leg.* 235

Hagar : Hagar, Sarah's handmaid, is consistently contrasted with her, Sarah being Virtue or Wisdom,^a while Hagar is the Lower Education of the Schools.^b (What this comprised is sometimes told us : *Congr.* 11f, 15ff, 74ff, 142, 144, 146ff.) The School-learning is the step towards the perfection represented by her mistress,^c and is necessary (*Congr.* 24), but represents a stage of in-

^a Sarah is philosophy in *Congr.* 79, 145 ; knowledge and wisdom, *ib.* 156 ; better judgement (γνώμη), *Fug.* 205 ; good sense (φρόνησις), *ib.* 207.

^b The lower education, ἡ μέση παιδεία, in *Cher.* 3, 6, *Post.* 130, *Congr.* 12, 14, 20, 22, *Mut.* 255 (μέσαι τέχναι, *Congr.* 140, cf. 128 ; παιδεία, *Congr.* 23, 72f, 121, *Som.* i. 240). παιδεύματα (*Leg. All.* iii. 244) and προπαιδεύματα (*Cher.* 8, 10, *Congr.* 152, 180, *Fug.* 2, 213, *Mut.* 263) are also used ; and the adjective ἐγκύκλιος, *Leg. All.* iii. 244, *Cher.* 2, 6 & [N], *Sac.* 43f, *Congr.* 14, 19f, 23, 72f, 79, 121, 155, *Fug.* 213, *Som.* i. 240.

^c In *Congr.* 79 the handmaid-mistress relationship is used twice over to convey Encyclical-Philosophy, Philosophy-Wisdom.

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completeness (*ἀτελής*, *Fug.* 207) and gradual progress only (*ψυχὴ προκόπτουσα*, *ib.* 202, 213, *cf.* 211), something temporary (*Congr.* 12); this is typified in Hagar being Abraham's concubine, not his wife (*ib.* 23, 154-156)

Hagar's name means 'sojourning'; for the aspirant to virtue sojourns with the subjects of the Schools (*Leg. All.* iii. 244 & [N]); or it signifies that the student of secular learning only sojourns and is not domiciled with wisdom (*Sac.* 43f, where Philo also identifies the 'alien sojourner' with the lower knowledge itself; *cf.* *Congr.* 20, 22f). She is an Egyptian (*Gen.* xvi. 1): so the student of the Schools must necessarily be associated with the body (Egypt) and its senses to apprehend knowledge (*Congr.* 20); but this disqualifies her from seeing God Himself (*Som.* i. 240 & n; see below)

Abraham's union with Hagar, sponsored by Sarah (*Congr.* 72), occurs before he is perfect, while he is still Abram and concerned with supramundane things (*Leg. All.* iii. 244), ten years after his arrival in Canaan, while the soul had passed the stage of the senses and passions and was able to apprehend and choose between virtue and vice (*Congr.* 81f), when it was mature enough to begin the training of the Schools (*ib.* 121f, *cf.* 88). Hagar's conception led to a feud with Sarah (*ib.* 127-129, 158)—not the jealousy of women, but the conflict of two minds of different quality (180). Hagar fled, voluntarily (*Cher.* 3, contrasting the expulsion later), to escape the stern search for virtue (*Cher.* 6 & [N]; but contrast *Fug.* 213), throwing away achievements for un-

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certainities (*Fug.* 205f), a flight prompted by shame (*Fug.* 5f, 203, 213). But an angel (? conviction, *Fug.* 6) finds her (*Cher.* 3, *Fug.* 5f, 202ff, 211-213; contrast *Som.* i. 240) by a spring (wisdom : Hagar is not said to draw from it, *Fug.* 202), and she returns ^a

Hagar is expelled with her sophist son Ishmael after the birth of Isaac (*Leg. All.* iii. 245, *Cher.* 3, 8f, *Post.* 130, 132, *Sob.* 8f). Again she is found by a well (knowledge : and she draws for Ishmael, *Post.* 130, 132, 137) and she is preserved by God. In *Abr.* 247-254 Philo gives a summary of the story, somewhat idealized

- I. Gen. Intro. pp. xviif, *Leg. All.* iii. 244 & [N], II. *Cher.* 3, 6, 8, *Sac.* 43, *Post.* 130, 132, 137, III. *Sob.* 8, IV. *Congr.* p. 449n, 1, 11f, 20, 22-24, 71f, 81, 88, 121f, 127-129, 139, 153-158, 180, V. *Fug.* 1, 5f, 202f, 211 & n, 212, *Mut.* 255, *Som.* i. 240 & n, VI. *Abr.* 247-254

Ham : a name for vice in the quiescent state ; by interpretation 'heat'—a sign of fever in the body and of vice in the soul (*Sob.* 44). See also s.v. Canaan, III. *Sob.* 1, 6, 32, 44f, 47f, VIII. *Virt.* 202

Hamor : irrational being (*ἄλογος φύσις*), for Hamor means 'ass' (IV. *Mig.* 224 & n). Folly or unintelligence (*ἄνοια*, V. *Mut.* 193f)

Hannah : the gift of the wisdom of God, for Hannah means 'her grace' (III. *Quod Deus* 5, *Ebr.* 145-152, V. *Mut.* 143, 144[N], *Som.* i. 254). Hannah's song (1 Sam. ii. 1-10, esp. v. 5) suggests that she represents the soul sterilized to wickedness and

^a Further details in the story belong rather to Ishmael, *g.v.*

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mortal sowing but holding fast to the 'seventh' and mother of its peace (V. *Mut.* 143f, III. *Quod Deus* 10f, VIII. *Praem.* 159 & n, 160)

Haran: the country of sense-perception, understanding's bodily tenement (*Mig.* 187, 197, 207-214, *Som.* i. 53, 68); for Haran is 'hole,' and holes are figures for eyes, ears, etc. (*Mig.* 188, *Som.* i. 59). So Haran stands also for the organs of sense (*Mig.* 195 & n, *Fug.* 45, *Som.* i. 41, *Abr.* 72)

Abraham's father, Terah (the explorer of sense; Socrates; self-knowledge), lived and died in Haran (*Som.* i. 47-59). It is to Haran that he and Abraham migrate, teaching us to discard the speculations of astrology in favour of the Socratic study of ourselves (*Mig.* 176-197, esp. 185-189, cf. 137f; *Fug.* 45f, *Som.* i. 55 & n-58, *Abr.* 70-80, 72n); and it is a necessary intermediate stage in the soul's progress (*Mig.* 198f). But Abraham leaves it to go on to immortality and the knowledge of God (*Mig.* 189-195, *Som.* i. 47, 60, *Abr.* 72n, 85-88)—for to despair of oneself is the first step (*Som.* i. 60, cf. 56; *Mig.* 195)

In the Jacob stories also Haran is significant. His mother wisely counsels him to flee to Haran (Gen. xxvii. 43-45), for compromise with the senses may sometimes be the best course (*Mig.* 208 & n-213). In *Fug.* 45f this is the advice to know ourselves. In either case it is to be a temporary measure (*Mig.* 211, *Fug.* 46, *Som.* i. 45f). Jacob goes to Haran (Gen. xxviii. 10, *Som.* i. 4, 5 & n, 41-45, 61, 68, 70) from Beersheba ('well of knowledge'): if a man cannot com-

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mune with the understanding by itself, he wins in sense-perception a second-best refuge (*ib.* 44). Laban's shepherds tell him they are of Haran (Gen. xxix. 4): their flocks are the irrational faculties, fittingly associated with the senses (*Mig.* 212f). But Jacob too eventually leaves Haran to live in the fear of God (*ib.* 214f, *cf.* 5 & n)

- IV. *Mig.* 176f, 184 & n-195 & n (esp. 187f), 197f, 207[N], 208-216, 210[N], 212n, V. *Fug.* 23, 45f, *Som.* i. 4, 5 & n, 41-45, 55n, 56n, 61, 68, 70, VI. *Abr.* 62n, 67, 72 & n, 77 & n-80

Havilah : see *s.v.* Evilat

Hebrew, Hebrews : Hebrew means ' migrant ' ; the wont of the Hebrews is to quit the objects of sense-perception and go after those of mind (*Mig.* 20). Thus Joseph was proved to be a Hebrew and proved himself one (*ib.*). The Hebrew women needed no midwives (Exod. i. 19) : the self-taught nature arises by no human will, but by a God-inspired ecstasy (*Fug.* 168, *cf.* *Mig.* 141f & n, *Congr.* 3 & n)

- IV. *Mig.* 20, 141f, *Quis Her.* 128, *Congr.* 3, V. *Mut.* 117, *Fug.* 168, VI. *Abr.* 251, *Jos.* 42, 50, 104, 203, *Mos.* i. 15f (34ff), 105, 143-147, 179f, 216, 218, 240, 243, 252, 263, 276, 278, 284f, 288f, 295, 305, 311, ii. 32, VIII. *Virt.* 34f

Hebrew language, The ^a : III. *Plant.* 169, *Sob.* 45, IV. *Conf.* 68, 129f, *Mig.* 13, *Congr.* 40, V. *Som.* ii. 250, VI. *Abr.* (8 & n, 12), 17, 27f, 57, (99, 201), *Jos.* 28, (*Mos.* ii. 26, 31, 38, 40, 97, 224), VII.

^a In the later treatises Philo tends to use *Χαλδαῖοι*, *Χαλδαῖοτί*; these references are included, in brackets.

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- Decal.* 159, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 41, 86, 145, (*VIII. Praem.* 14, 23, 31, 44), (*X. Leg.* 4)
- Hebron: Hebron means 'coupling' or 'union' (*συζυγή*) and 'comradeship' (*συνεταιρίς*) and is a figurative title for our body, because it is coupled with a soul and has established a comradeship with it. So Jacob sent Joseph out of the vale of Hebron (*Gen.* xxxvii 14) to stir him from the hollows of the body and senses (*II. Det.* 15-17). In *II. Post.* 60-62 Philo gives a similar interpretation of *Num.* xiii. 22, but says the 'union' may also be that of the soul with virtue (so *Gen.* xxiii. 9, 19). Hebron is also called a treasure-house, guarding personal monuments of knowledge and wisdom (*Num.* xiii. 22, *Post.* 60-62 & [N])
- Helene: *IX. Flacc.* 156
- Heliceia: *IX. Aet.* 140 & n
- Helicon: *X. Leg.* 166-178, 203-206
- Heliopolis: *II. Post.* 54, 57 & [N]; the mind, sun-like, sending forth its proper light, causes all forms and conditions to be clearly apprehended. So *V. Som.* i. 77f
- Hellas: see *s.v.* Greece
- Hellespont: *V. Som.* ii. 118
- Hephaestus: *VII. Decal.* 54 & [N]; *IX. Vit. Cont.* 3, *Aet.* 68
- Hera: *VII. Decal.* 54 & N, *IX. Vit. Cont.* 3
- Heracleitus: *I. Leg. All.* i. 108, iii. 7 & [N], *IV. Quis Her.* 214, *V. Fug.* 61 & n, *IX. Aet.* 111 & n, *Prov.* 2. 67
- Heracles: *IX. Quod Omn. Prob.* 99-104, 101n, 120, 127 & n, 128, *X. Leg.* 78f, 81, 90-93 & n
- Hermes: *VII. Decal.* 54 & n, *IX. Quod Omn. Prob.* 101 & n, *X. Leg.* 93 & n-102; cf. *IV. Quis Her.* 224

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- Herod : Herod the Great, grandfather of Agrippa (*q.v.*), **IX.** *Flacc.* 25, **X.** *Leg.* 294-300
- Heroes' City (Goshen) : **VI.** *Jos.* 256 & n
- Heshbon : 'reasonings', so quibbling riddles, full of obscurity, **I.** *Leg. All.* iii. 225-233
- Hesiod : **IX.** *Aet.* 17, 18 & n, 19
- Heth : **V.** *Fug.* 25 [N], *Som.* ii. 89, 90 & n : Abraham, to avoid giving provocation, did obeisance to the sons of Heth (*Gen.* xxiii. 7), the enemies of reason who remove instruction (Heth is 're-moving'), that he might obtain Machpelah
- Hiddekel : see *s.v.* Tigris
- Hippocentaurs : **VII.** *Spec. Leg.* iii. 45
- Hippocrates : **I.** *Op.* 105, 124, **IX.** *Vit. Cont.* 16 & n
- Homer : **I.** *Gen. Introd.* p. xvi n, **IV.** *Conf.* 4, **VI.** *Abr.* 10, **IX.** *Quod Omn. Prob.* 31, *Vit. Cont.* 17 & n & [N], **X.** *Leg.* 80^a
- Homilus : **X.** *Leg.* 181
- Hor : Hor (Λxx "Ωρ, E.V. Hur) supports Moses' hands (*Exod.* xvii. 12) : that is, the wise man's doings are steadied by truth (Hor is 'light'). Similarly *Num.* xx. 25 : Aaron goes up into Mt. Hor to die, for the end and goal of the Word (Aaron) is truth (**I.** *Leg. All.* iii. 45 ; *cf.* **VI.** *Mos.* i. 214n)
- Hormah : **III.** *Quod Deus* 99
- Hoshea : Moses changes the name of Hoshea to Joshua (*Num.* xiii. 17), thus transforming the individual who embodies a state to the state itself ; for Hoshea is 'he,' *i.e.* a particular individual, 'is saved,' and Joshua is 'salvation' (**V.** *Mut.* 121 & n)
- Hur : see *s.v.* Hor

^a For many quotations from Homer, without his name, see Index to 'Translators' Notes.

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Hydra : V. *Som.* ii. 14

Hypotaenia : IX. *Flacc.* 45

Iberus : V. *Som.* ii. 123 & [N], IX. *Flacc.* 2 & n

Iliad : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 17. (Without naming the *Iliad*, Philo also quotes from it in III. *Agr.* 41, VI. *Mos.* i. 61, VII. *Decal.* 69 & n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 31)

India, Indians : V. *Som.* ii. 56, 59, VI. *Abr.* 182, VIII. *Praem.* 89, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 74 & [N], 93-96, *Aet.* 128f

Ion : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 134 & [N]

Ionian, Ionian, Ionic : V. *Som.* ii. 55 (Ionic carvings), VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 102 (Ionians and luxury), IX. *Flacc.* 154 (Ionian Gulf)

Isaac : Isaac means 'laughter,'^a the soul's gladness (*Leg. All.* iii. 43, 87),^b or Happiness (*ib.* 217-219) in generic form (τὸ εὐδαιμονίας γένος, *Cher.* 8, 106, *Det.* 60, *Post.* 134), joy, the best of the good emotions,^c given by God to soothe and cheer truly peaceful souls (*Mut.* 131). But chiefly he represents the virtue^d or wisdom^e or knowledge^f which is self-learned or self-taught,^g that which is by nature^h

^a *Leg. All.* i. 82, ii. 82, iii. 43, 87, 217-219, *Cher.* 8, 106, *Det.* 60, 124f, *Post.* 134, *Plant.* 168f, *Mut.* 137, 157, 161, 166f, *Abr.* 201-204, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54, *Praem.* 31.

^b So *Mut.* 157-161 ; cf. γέλως ἐνδιάθετος, 131.

^c εὐπαλειῶν ἀρίστη χαρά, *Congr.* 36, *Mut.* 1, 130f, 264, *Abr.* 201-204, *Praem.* 31-35, 50 ; cf. *Mut.* 261, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54.

^d ἀρετή, *Mig.* 125, *Congr.* 34-36, *Som.* i. 167-169, *Abr.* 52, *Praem.* 31, 50.

^e σοφία, *Post.* 78, *Quod Deus* 4, *Sob.* 9, *Congr.* 37, cf. 111.

^f ἐπιστήμη, *Sob.* 9, *Som.* i. 160.

^g See notes a and b, p. 326.

^h φύσις, *Mut.* 88, *Som.* i. 160, 167, 171, *Abr.* 52, 54, *Praem.* 31 ; φυσική, *Abr.* 52.

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Thus he belongs to the second and higher triad of those who yearn for virtue,^a not so much men as values—Abraham (by teaching), Isaac (by nature ^b), Jacob (by practice). All alike are God-lovers and God-beloved (*Abr.* 48-56), all are wise men (*Som.* i. 167); but Isaac's is the higher gift (*Sac.* 5-7 & [N], *Som.* i. 169), so he is often favourably contrasted with the other two,^c though once Philo inconsistently admits that nature cannot be complete without them (*Abr.* 53); and once he seems to indicate limitation in Isaac's apprehension of God (*Som.* i. 68 & n). This identification of Isaac with natural ability is not explained (see VI. Gen. Introd. p. xi & n)

Some other contrasts are interesting. Philo subordinates Abraham to Isaac even when following the narrative of Gen. xxii (*Mig.* 166f & n); when interpreting "The Lord God of Abraham thy father and the God of Isaac" (*Som.* i. 160f, 166-171); and God taught Abraham but begat Isaac (*ib.* 173). Jacob falls short of Isaac in the apprehension of the divine (*Som.* i. 68 & n). Ishmael, though elder in years, is spiritually junior to Isaac (*Sob.* 7-9; *cf.* *Mut.* 262f)

The usual epithet ('self-taught') for Isaac is *αὐτο-*

^a This trinity appears in *Sac.* 5-7 & [N], *Sob.* 38n, *Mig.* 125 & [N], *Congr.* 34-38, *Mut.* 12 & [N], *Som.* i. 166-173, *Abr.* 48-56, *Praem.* 24-51, *cf.* *Leg. All.* ii. 59. See Vol. VI, Gen. Introd. pp. x-xii.

^b But Isaac is 'perfection' in *Mut.* 12; see [N].

^c *E.g.* *Som.* i. 167-173; *Congr.* 34-38, his is legitimate rather than 'concubine' knowledge; *Mut.* 88, he keeps the same name throughout; *Leg. All.* ii. 59, 'nakedness' from passion.

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μαθής^a; sometimes αὐτοδίδακτος^b and αὐτήκοος^c are linked with it.^d But φύσις (natural ability) is also used.^e He is wise^f and noble (ἀστέιος, *Som.* i. 171, *Abr.* 52, *cf.* γενναῖος in *Som.* ii. 10), a lover of self-discipline (σωφροσύνη, *Congr.* 175), a man of faith (*Som.* i. 68), holy (ὁσιος, *Abr.* 52, *cf.* 172), excellent (ἄριστος, *Congr.* 175; σῶμα κάλλιστος, ψυχὴν ἄριστος, *Abr.* 168), perfect in virtues^g (*Sob.* 8f, *cf.* *Congr.* 38), the perfect good,^h one who is free from passion (ἀπαθὲς εἶδος) and inviolable (ἀτρώτου γένους εἶδος, *Det.* 46 & n),ⁱ who has left behind his own self (*Quis Her.* 68). He is a prophet (*ib.* 261), and one of the founders of the race (*Mut.* 88; *cf.* *Som.* i. 167)

Isaac was the child promised (see *s.v.* *Gen.* xv. 4, xvii. 6f) to Abraham (the good man, etc.) and

^a αὐτομαθής, *Sac.* 6 & [N], 120[N], *Det.* 30, *Quod Deus* 4, *Post.* 78, *Plant.* 168, *Ebr.* 60, 94, *Sob.* 38n, 65, *Conf.* 74, 81, *Mig.* 29f, 101, 125 & [N], 140, 166, 167 & n, *Congr.* 24n, 34, 36, 38, 111, *Fug.* 166, *Mut.* 1, 12 & [N], 88, 137, 255, 263, *Som.* i. 68, 160, 168f, 194, ii. 10, *Praem.* 27, 59. *Cf.* μαθητὴς Θεοῦ, *Sac.* 7; ἱκανὸς διδάσκειν καὶ μαθάνειν οὐ δεόμενος, *Mig.* 140.

^b αὐτοδίδακτος, *Post.* 78, *Fug.* 166, *Mut.* 88, *Som.* i. 160, ii. 10, *Praem.* 27, 59.

^c αὐτήκοος, *Plant.* 168, *Sob.* 65, *Som.* i. 160, 168f, *Praem.* 27, 50.

^d αὐτουργός, *Plant.* 168.

^e φύσις, *Plant.* 168, *Fug.* 168, *Mut.* 88, *Som.* i. 160, 167-171, *Abr.* 52, 54, *Praem.* 31.

^f πάνσοφος, *Cher.* 47, *Sac.* 43; σοφός, *Sob.* 9, *Fug.* 200, *Som.* i. 167. *Cf.* note *e*, p. 324.

^g ἀρετή, *Cher.* 40. *Cf.* note *d*, p. 324.

^h τέλειον ἀγαθόν, *Mut.* 188, *cf.* 88, 166; ἀγαθὸς καὶ τέλειος, *Som.* i. 162; τέλειος, *Sac.* 43; *cf.* τελειότης, *Mut.* 12 & [N].

ⁱ See further below, on *Gen.* xxvi. 2.

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Sarah (virtue) in their old age. They both greet this with laughter, and the offspring of them both is laughter itself (*Leg. All.* iii. 217f).^a God's covenant would be with him (*Gen.* xvii. 19); this praise even before his birth is because joy gladdens in anticipation, and therefore God held Isaac worthy of his great name and of a great endowment (*ib.* 85-87). This male child (one free from all womanish feelings—*πάθος*) is to be named by the feeling he raises in Abraham, namely joy (*Mut.* 261).^b Isaac is the most perfect thank-offering given to Abraham by the divine potencies after their visit (*Gen.* xviii. 9f, *Cher.* 106); while his answer to their question, "Where is Sarah?" is fitting: Virtue is in the soul, but Happiness can only come with the exercise of it—that is, when Sarah conceives and bears Isaac, happiness in its totality (*Det.* 60). "It had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women" (xviii. 11): this favourite text^c applies to Isaac, for happiness is conceived when we are dead to the passions (*Cher.* 8 & [N]), when virtue is free from alloy (*Post.* 134), and the self-taught nature requires us to forsake those human ways of custom and mere reasoning (*Fug.* 167f, *cf. Ebr.* 60). Sarah "conceived and bare" (xxi. 2) not a man,^d but a most pure thought, beautiful, not by practice but by nature (*Fug.* 167). Abraham was then one hundred years old (xxi. 5), the number irradiated by the self-taught nature,

^a How they could laugh before laughter was born is discussed in *Mut.* 157, 166.

^b See note c, p. 324.

^c See s.v. Sarah.

^d *Cf. Mig.* 140-142, *Mut.* 130f, *Som.* i. 172, *Abr.* 54f.

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Isaac, who is joy, the best of the good emotions ^a (*Mut.* 1, 188). "The Lord has made laughter for me" (xxi. 6, LXX): as Isaac and laughter are the same, this means that God made or begat Isaac; for He Himself is the Father of the perfect nature, sowing and begetting happiness in men's souls (*Leg. All.* iii. 219, *Mut.* 130f, 137, *Som.* i. 173).^b Sarah's rejoicing ("all that hear me will laugh with me") calls for fellowship in joy when one hears that Virtue has given birth to Happiness (*Leg. All.* ii. 82, *cf.* iii. 218f). The child gives rather than receives nourishment ('suck,' xxi. 7), being capable of teaching and not needing to learn (*Mig.* 140 & [N] and perhaps 29). The same interpretation is given for his being weaned (*Sob.* 7-9, *Mig.* 29, *Som.* ii. 10)

Abraham's (intended) sacrifice of Isaac is variously explained. It is, of course, no human being, but the fruit of a rich and fertile soul which is offered (*Mig.* 142, *Leg. All.* iii. 209); the sum offering of the mind that has reached the summit (*ib.* 139 & n, *cf.* *Abr.* 172); a fitting thank-offering, which illustrates what it is not to beget for oneself (*Quod Deus* 4): a perfect, undivided, whole burnt-offering (*cf.* *Som.* i. 194), because Isaac had no passion which breeds corruption (*Sac.* 110); the sacrifice of the good emotion of the understanding, that is, joy, showing that rejoicing is most clearly associated with God alone (*Abr.* 202, *Leg. All.* iii. 209).

^a See note c, p. 324.

^b So too *Cher.* 45, *Det.* 124f, where Isaac is also the offspring of wisdom, *i.e.* of Abraham (*cf.* *Abr.* 194); and *Mig.* 139-142, offspring of the soul, *i.e.* Sarah (*cf.* *Quod Deus* 4, where the soul is Abraham).

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Such an acknowledgement God fully rewards by returning the gift; so Isaac is saved (*ib.* 177, 203f) One further topic in the story ^a: "so they went both of them together" (xxii. 8) means with equal speed of mind rather than body along the road to holiness (*Abr.* 172); that is, the learner's virtue along with that of the self-taught, the pair being now capable of winning virtue's prize in equal measure (*Mig.* 166 & n, 167) ^b

"Isaac went into the plain to meditate at the eventide" (Gen. xxiv. 63, Lxx). This means that he quits his own mind to be with God (*Leg. All.* iii. 43, *Det.* 29, cf. *Quis Her.* 68 on Gen. xv. 4, *Leg. All.* i. 82); the plain signifies the conquest of opposing principles, and Isaac is the champion unopposed who finds the field empty of all his adversaries (*Det.* 29-31)

"Abraham gave all that he had ^c unto Isaac. But unto the sons of the concubines . . . Abraham gave gifts" (xxv. 5, 6): The real substances, the perfect virtues, are the possessions of the perfect and true-born only (*Sac.* 43); so Isaac alone receives substantial realities, graven on the heart (in contrast to idols, Gen. xxxi. 35) of the wise, the self-taught nature (*Congr.* 74). These 'substances' or 'realities' are the natural laws (*Mig.* 94 & n & [N], cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 197)

^a Philo also treats of Abraham's binding of Isaac (*Quod Deus* 4) and their dialogue (*Fug.* 132-136, *Abr.* 173).

^b "When this higher stage is reached the old antithesis between labour and natural gifts, between art the imitator and nature the creator, is wiped out." (Translator's note *ad loc.*)

^c τὰ ὑπάρχοντα is each time taken as the philosophical term τὰ ὑπαρκτά, 'realities.' See *Mig.* 94[N].

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Isaac was warned not to enter Egypt (xxvi. 2, 3).

This means he was always spiritually 'naked' of passions and vices (*Leg. All.* ii. 59, *Det.* 46), and dwells in Wisdom-land (*Mig.* 29f, *Som.* i. 160). In *Conf.* 81 Philo perversely interprets the text to teach that the good man is a *sojourner* in the body but *dwells* in wisdom. His 'sporting' with Rebecca (xxvi. 8) was a divine pursuit (*Cher.* 8 & n & [N]), the sacred sporting of the soul with the one who waits patiently for all that is beautiful (*Plant.* 168-170)

Philo interprets Gen. xxiv. 67 so that he can qualify Isaac's *taking* a wife (rather than *receiving* one from God); so Isaac is included with those who, self-taught, are ready to accept from God Reason or Knowledge, the partner in the life of the wise (*Post.* 77f). No concubines of Isaac are mentioned: for the self-taught nature wants neither the practice (Jacob) nor the teaching (Abraham) which entails the need of the concubine as well as the legitimate forms of knowledge; he is the husband of no slavish arts, but of the queen and mistress of virtue, constancy (*Congr.* 34-38, 111). Philo goes further: Isaac and the other lovers of wisdom and those of like spirit did not know women, but rather rejected sense.^a Their wives are called women, but are really virtues, Rebecca being 'steadfastness in excellence' (*Cher.* 40f, 47, *cf. Post.* 62)

Of Isaac's death (xxxv. 29, "he was added to his people"—*γένος*) it is said that self-learned knowledge is translated into the genus of the im-

^a *αἰσθησις* is Philo's regular interpretation of Eve or generic woman.

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perishable and fully perfect (*Sac.* 6f & [N])

- I. *Leg. All.* i. 82, ii. 59, 82, iii. 43, 85-87, 177, 209, 217-219, II. *Cher.* 8 & n & [N], 40f, 47, 106, *Sac.* 5-7 & [N], 43, 64, 110, 120[N], *Det.* 29-31, 46 & n, 60, 124f, *Post.* 62, 77f, 134, III. *Quod Deus* 4, 92 & [N], *Plant.* 78f, 168-170, *Ebr.* 60, 94, 119f, *Sob.* 7-9, 38n, 65, IV. *Conf.* 74, 81, *Mig.* 26n, 29, 94, 101, 125 & n & [N], 126, 139, 140 & [N], 142n, 166, 167 & n, *Quis Her.* 8, 68, 251, 261, *Congr.* 24n, 34-38, 70, 111, 175, V. *Fug.* 48, 132, 166f, 200, *Mut.* 1, 12 & [N], 13, 88, 130f, 137, 157, 161, 166f, 175-177, 188, 190, 218, 230, 252f, 255, 261-264, *Som.* i. 3, 14, 38, 68 & n, 159 & n, 160, 162f, 166-173, 194f, *Som.* ii. 10, VI. *Gen. Introd.* pp. x, xi & n, xii, xvi f, *Abr.* 485-6, 168-177, 188, 192-207, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54, VIII. *Virt.* 207 & n, 208, *Praem.* 24, 27, 31-35, 50, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 70[N]

Ishmael : bastard ^a son of Abraham by Hagar. Hagar is the *προπαιδύματα* of the Schools, the lower learning ; and so her son ^b represents sophistry.^c He is contrasted with the true-born son, Isaac : Ishmael, though elder in years, is spiritually junior to Isaac,^d his sophistry contrasts with

^a *νόθος*, *Sob.* 8, cf. *Fug.* 208.

^b Ishmael is closely linked with Hagar in *Cher.* 8, *Post.* 130-132, *Congr.* 127-129, *Fug.* 204, 208-212 & n, *Mut.* 255.

^c *σοφιστεία*, *Cher.* 9, *Sob.* 9 ; *σοφιστής*, *Cher.* 8, 10, *Sob.* 9, *Congr.* 129, *Fug.* 209-211.

^d *Gen.* xxi. 14-16 uses *παῖδιον* of Ishmael, and so he is a 'child' compared with Isaac. In *Post.* 130f Philo makes this 'child' the soul just beginning to crave after instruction ; when grown to manhood it becomes the sophist (xxi. 20). In *Fug.* 208 Ishmael is inferior to Israel (*seeing* God), who is a true-born son. Philo evidently has in mind the inferiority of Ishmael (*νόθος*, *Sob.* 8) to Isaac (*γνήσιος*).

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Isaac's wisdom (*Sob.* 8f); he is the progeny of teaching, Isaac is self-taught (*Mut.* 255, *cf.* 218f, 263). So Hagar and the sophist Ishmael, with his child's play, are cast out when generic happiness (Isaac) is born, whose 'play' (with Rebecca) is divine (*Cher.* 8 & [N])

Philo equates Ishmael with sophistry because he is the child of Hagar; but Gen. xxi. 20, "and he became an archer," is used to develop the theme, for whatever point he sets forth as a target, at this he discharges proofs like arrows, with sure aim (*Post.* 131); he is the quarrelsome sophist who shoots or is shot at with the bow (*Congr.* 129), loving to argue and shoot at men of every kind of learning, and of course being shot at in return (*Fug.* 209-211)

Philo treats Gen. xv. 11f, giving the meaning of Ishmael's name (see below), and explaining *ἄγροικος* as his 'country' wisdom, compared with the more civilized, gentle virtue (*Fug.* 208f); and xxi. 19: Hagar 'watered' Ishmael with the same incomplete education as her own (*Post.* 130), with gradual progress (*προκοπαῖς*, 132). But it is Abraham's prayer in xvii. 18, "Let Ishmael live before Thee," which obtains the fullest treatment (*Mut.* 201-263). *Ishmael* means 'hearing God' (202, *Fug.* 208)—he was so named because Hagar was chastened by hearing the words of God (*Fug.* 208)—so Philo discusses right and wrong hearing (*Mut.* 201-205). It is spiritual *life* which is concerned, that what Ishmael hears from God may abide and inflame him (209f), that his may be the sum happiness of living *before God*, that is, the mind knowing that God's eye is

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always watching over him (216f). The prayer teaches that the soul may be inadequate to receive God's greatest gifts (*i.e.* Isaac), but it must dedicate what gifts it has and cherish these lesser ones (220-227). God's answer to the prayer is two gifts rather than one: Ishmael will flourish, but with Isaac the greater gift is given (252f, 255, 263)

- I. Gen. Intro. p. xvii, II. *Cher.* 8 & [N], *Post.* 130-132, III. *Sob.* 8f, IV. *Congr.* 127-129, V. *Fug.* 1, 204, 208-212 & n, *Mut.* 201-263 (esp. 201f, 204, 209f, 216f, 252f, 255, 263), VI. *Abr.* 253f, VIII. *Virt.* 206n

Ishmaelites : (VI. *Jos.* 15, 27)

Isidorus : IX. *Flacc.* 20 & [N]-24, 125-127, 135-150, X. *Leg.* 355

Israel ^a : The proper preface to Philo's treatment of the nation is his interpretation of the individual, Jacob, renamed Israel. In some cases Philo links the nation onto the man (*e.g.* *Mig.* 199-201, *Conf.* 145-148) ^b ; in others he does not distinguish between the two (*e.g.* *Leg. All.* iii. 15, where Lev. xv. 31 is used to develop teaching on Jacob ; and, for the contrary, *Ebr.* 24, where the nation is called *ὁ ἁσκητήης*, Philo's regular term for Jacob ;

^a Only passages containing the actual word(s) are included, with a few exceptions. Of course Philo often alludes to Israel without mentioning the name ; and that applies particularly to the biographical books. On the other hand, he repeatedly uses texts proper to Israel without any reference to context ; this makes a complete analysis almost impossible. See also Hebrews, Jews, Alexandrians.

^b Sometimes, of course, Philo's text uses Jacob or Israel for the nation (*e.g.* Num. xxiii. 7, see *Conf.* 72).

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cf. 111). In one case it is Isaac with whom Israel is almost equated (*Fug.* 208)

For Philo Israel means 'seeing God,' and so he calls Israel 'the seeing one' or 'the race of vision.'^a By Israel he usually means the mind or soul. Sometimes it is the good (or better) mind as a whole,^b often faced with outward opposition^c; sometimes it is the better part of it,^d contrasted with a lower inward element represented by one of Israel's enemies^e; sometimes divisions in Israel represent the conflicting elements of the soul.^f But it would be unwise to press these distinctions

^a (ὁ) ὁρῶν (τὸν Θεόν), *Leg. All.* ii. 34, iii. 15, 172, 186, 212, *Sac.* 134, *Post.* 63, 89-92, *Plant.* 58, *Sob.* 13, *Conf.* 56, 146, 148, 159, *Mig.* 113, 125, *Quis Her.* 78, *Congr.* 51, *Fug.* 208, *Som.* ii. 44, 172f, *Abr.* 57, *Leg.* 4, cf. *Agr.* 81, *Mig.* 200f, 224, *Congr.* 51, *Som.* ii. 279. τὸ ὁρατικὸν γένος, *Quod Deus* 144, *Conf.* 91f, *Mig.* 18, 54, *Mut.* 109, 189, 258, *Som.* ii. 279; ὁρατικός with τρόπος, *Plant.* 60; ψυχή, *Ebr.* 111, *Fug.* 139; διάνοια, *Mig.* 14; νοῦς, *Mut.* 209; ὁ ὁρατικός, οἱ ὁρατικοί. *Mig.* 163, *Plant.* 46f. Other expressions are used in *Sac.* 118-120, *Plant.* 58, *Conf.* 72, *Quis Her.* 279, *Fug.* 208, *Mut.* 203, 209, *Som.* i. 114, 172f.

^b E.g. *Plant.* 58 (ψυχῶν σοφῶν θίσιος), *Leg.* 5; cf. *Abr.* 58f, *Conf.* 148.

^c E.g. *Mig.* 14, *Mut.* 209, where Israel is the population of the soul led out from Egypt, the body; *Mut.* 107, the ruling mind, swamped by Midianite sensuality.

^d E.g. *Sac.* 119 (μεσαιτατον καὶ ἡγεμονικώτατον τῆς ψυχῆς) and *Abr.* 57 (ὄρασις ἢ διὰ τοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγεμονικοῦ προφέρει τὰς ἄλλας ὅσαι περὶ αὐτὸ δυνάμεις· αὐτὴ δέ ἐστι φρόνησις, ὅψις διανοίας).

^e E.g. Pharaoh (*Det.* 91-95), the Egyptians (*Leg. All.* ii. 34, *Sac.* 134, *Conf.* 91f), Amalek (*Leg. All.* iii. 186).

^f *Leg. All.* ii. 77f (the Israelites killed by serpents, οὐ τὸ ἄρχον ἐστὶν ἐν ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀρχόμενον τὸ λαῶδες), *Mig.* 18 (of the Exodus, τὰ θνητὰ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ ἀφθαρτα, κτλ.), *Quis Her.* 78f (of Manna, cf. *Mig.* 199-201, *Agr.* 79-81).

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This soul-vision is an unaided faculty, transcending any perception through instruction, symbolized by hearing (*Conf.* 72, 148, *Fug.* 208, *cf.* *Abr.* 57). It represents the highest kind of seeing, the sight of the truly Existing, superior to the contemplation of the heavens and the trivialities of the sophist (*Congr.* 51f, *cf.* *Abr.* 58, *Leg.* 5f, *Praem.* 43-46).^a It is the sight of the understanding, namely wisdom (*Abr.* 57, *Plant.* 58), outstripping reason (*Leg.* 4-6, *cf.* *Praem.* 43-46). It means the acme of happiness (*Abr.* 58). In one passage Philo allows Israel to be eclipsed; if any cannot attain to being a son of God, the next place is to be a son of God's First Born, variously entitled as the Word, Israel, etc. Those who do are sons of God's invisible image, the Word, or 'sons of Israel' (*Conf.* 145-148)

On the nation itself Philo makes little direct comment, though much can be inferred from its symbolical precedence. He calls it 'beloved of God' (*Mig.* 113) and 'the best of races' (*Congr.* 51), and describes it as a plant whose root was Abraham (*Quis Her.* 279). In *Mos.* i. 67 he says that the Burning Bush was a symbol of the suffering people

- I. *Gen. Introd.* p. xvi, *Leg. All.* ii. 34, iii. 11, 15, 172, 186, 194n, 212-214, II. *Sac.* 118-120 & [N], 134f, *Det.* 67, 91 & [N]-95, *Post.* 54, 63, 89, 92, 158, III. *Quod Deus* 144f, *Agr.* 81 & [N], *Plant.* 46f, 58-60, 63, *Ebr.* 24, 77, 79n, 82f, III. *Sob.* 13, 19, IV. *Conf.* 36, 56 & n, 72, 91-94, 145-148, 150,

^a But it may be of interest to notice *Quis Her.* 279, where Israel is *σκεπτικὸν καὶ θεωρητικὸν τῶν τῆς φύσεως πραγμάτων*, and *Som.* ii. 17, *νοῦς θεωρητικὸς Θεοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου*.

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- Mig.* 14f, 18, 25, 26 & n, 54, 113f, 125, 163 & n, 200f, 224, *Quis Her.* 19, 78, 117, 124, 203, 251, 279, *Congr.* 51, 86, 177n, V. *Fug.* 139, 208, *Mut.* 107, 109, 189, 207-209, 258-260, *Som.* i. 62, 71, 77, 89, 114, 117, ii. 44, 172f, 222, 271, 279f, VI. *Abr.* 56-59, *Mos.* i. 294n, ii. 186n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 51n, 100n, 131n, 303n, 319n, ii. 82n, 145n, 163n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 13n, 55n, *Virt.* 34[N], 75n, 92n, 120n, X. *Leg.* *Introd.* pp. xv, xx f, 4-6 & n
- Issachar : Leah's fifth son, born after Judah (' Praise '), means ' pay ' or ' reward ' ; for the thanksgiver finds in thanksgiving itself an all-sufficient reward (*Plant.* 134-136). Elsewhere Issachar signifies the man of toil (*Gen.* xlix. 15 ; so *Mig.* 221) who is worthy of reward. Thus in *Leg. All.* i. 79-83, 80[N], he represents the man who *exercises* good sense, labouring in noble deeds, and not in vain, for he is rewarded by God ; so too in *Som.* ii. 34, where Philo suggests the deeds themselves may constitute the perfect reward ; in *Ebr.* 94 he symbolizes those worthy of rewards because they have toiled in the acquisition of virtue
- I. *Leg. All.* i. 79, 80 & n & [N], 83, ii. 94, III. *Plant.* 134-136, *Ebr.* 94, IV. *Mig.* 221, V. *Fug.* 73, *Som.* ii. 34
- Italy, Italian : I. *Leg. All.* i. 62, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 48, *Aet.* 139, *Flacc.* 109, 125, 157f, 173, X. *Leg.* 10, 108, 116, 155, 159, 252
- Ithamar : (*Exod.* xxviii. 1), V. *Som.* ii. 186, VI. *Mos.* ii. 276 & n

Jabal : see *s.v.* *Jobel*

Jacob : Jacob, the third of the three great Patriarchs,
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is usually ὁ ἀσκητής, the Practiser ^a; but, following the derivation in Gen. xxvii. 36, Philo also uses ὁ πτερνιστής, πτερνίζων, the Supplanter ^b; much less often, Israel, and almost always with reference to the change of name.^c Jacob symbolizes the soul (e.g. *Som.* i. 128, 179-181, *Abr.* 52) or mind (e.g. *Quis Her.* 256) or reason,^d especially as the type of those who learn by practise, making gradual progress,^e with toil.^f In this he is often compared with Abraham and Isaac.^g Otherwise his particular significance is mostly suggested by the Genesis narratives, so that we find Jacob repeatedly contrasted with Esau or Laban ^g

When Isaac's wife Rebecca eventually conceived she learned she had twins and that the elder would serve the younger (Gen. xxv. 23, *Congr.* 129); for God foreknew their potential faculties, and that Jacob, the good character endowed

^a ἀσκητής itself is used nearly sixty times; if we include the cognate words ἀσκητικός, ἀσκησις, ἀσκέω, there are nearly a hundred occurrences. Usually it is ὁ ἀσκητής, occasionally with a noun in apposition (νοῦς, ἀρετή) or with a descriptive genitive (σοφίας, καλῶν); or ἀσκητικός (λόγος, τρόπος, ψυχὴ διάνοια, βίος, ἀρετή, μελέται). The translators have varied their renderings—Practiser, Self-trained, (self-)disciplined, man of earnest effort, devotee of virtue, etc.

^b *Leg. All.* i. 61, ii. 89, iii. 15, 93, 180, *Sac.* 42, 135, *Mig.* 200, cf. *Quis Her.* 252, *Mut.* 81, *Som.* i. 171.

^c See below.

^d τὸ λογισμὸν, *Som.* i. 180; πρεσβύτερος λόγος, *Mut.* 94; πρεσβύτερος ὀρθὸς λόγος, *Som.* ii. 135.

^e προκόπτω, προκοπή. *Det.* 5, 51, *Sac.* 120, *Post.* 78, *Conf.* 72.

^f πόνος, *Leg. All.* iii. 15, *Cher.* 46, *Sac.* 120, *Mig.* 214, *Congr.* 35, *Fug.* 14, *Mut.* 84-86, 88, *Som.* i. 120, 127, 168, 179, *Jos.* 223, cf. 230, *Praem.* 27, 36. Cf. ἀγανία, *Mut.* 81, *Som.* i. 168.

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with reason, would dominate the slavish, base and irrational Esau (*Leg. All.* iii. 88f, *cf. Congr.* 129, *Praem.* 63). Esau was ἄγρoυκος, Jacob ἄπλαστος (xxv. 27). Philo exploits the adjectives to point the contrast: Jacob's nature is simple, unfabricated, in contrast to Esau, whose very name suggests fabrication to Philo (*Plant.* 44). Jacob dwelt in a house, that is, virtue (*Leg. All.* iii. 2), but Esau is houseless (*Congr.* 61f). Esau surrenders to Jacob his birthright (xxv. 29-34). This is the victory ^a of the practiser of excellence in his unrelenting warfare against the passions (*Sac.* 17f, 120), the bad man's power "fainting" at Jacob's "seething" reason (*ib.* 81 & n). Though Esau is the elder, Jacob is proved morally senior (*Sac.* 17f, *Sob.* 26). In the story of Jacob cheating Esau of their father's blessing, Jacob says Esau is hairy, he himself smooth (λεῖος, xxviii. 11). This smoothness signifies Jacob's nakedness of soul (*i.e.* freedom from passion; in *Mig.* 153, singleness of aim), which his marrying Leah (Λεία) confirms (*Leg. All.* ii. 59 & n). Isaac's surprise at the *speed* with which the venison was brought (xxvii. 20) also interests Philo: Jacob found quickly because God imparts wisdom to his disciples and the slow stages of learning are by-passed (*Sac.* 64, *Quod Deus* 92f, *Ebr.* 120, *Fug.* 168f). Philo contrives other contrasts with Esau from the same text (see *Quis Her.* 252-254 & n). Jacob had hardly gone out when Esau entered (xxvii. 30, *Ebr.* 9), for the exodus of virtue works the entrance of evil, and vice versa—but only to find himself supplanted

^a *Cf.* p. 339, note a.

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(xxvii. 36, *Sac.* 134f). This is the soul's victory over passion (*Leg. All.* iii. 190f, *cf. Mig.* 208, *Quis Her.* 252n).^a Esau's blessing says he is to serve Jacob (xxvii. 40): it is the chance for the ignorant to learn from the wise (*Leg. All.* iii. 193, *cf. Quod Omn. Prob.* 57), for the rebellious and warring nature to submit to self-control (*Congr.* 175f).^b

Rebecca then advised Jacob to flee to her brother Laban (xxvii. 42-45). This was a flight from evil (Esau), but also from perfect virtue (his parents), giving him the chance to know himself (*Fug.* 42-47), a flight from intellect to the senses, when discretion required it (*Mig.* 208-211): it is politic to avoid action too antithetical (*Fug.* 27), and sense-perception is a useful second-best refuge (*Som.* i. 41-46). In any case it was only a temporary measure. Jacob "journeyed to Haran and met a place" (xxviii. 10f). This place is the Logos, intermediate to the perception of God (*Som.* i. 68-70),^c for direct illumination has been withdrawn (*ib.* 115-117). It is also the Logos that Jacob uses for the pillow of his mind (127f). The dream of the Ladder and its allegorical significance are treated at length

^a In *Mig.* 208 Jacob is said to be τέλειος τὴν ψυχὴν (contr. *Fug.* 40); but perfection is usually associated with the wrestling victory and his change of name. See below, p. 347, note *e*.

^b ἐγκράτεια, *Quis Her.* 254, *Congr.* 31, 175, *Som.* ii. 15.

^c The 'place' is on the way to Haran, and might have been intermediate in a local sense. But Philo seems to assume that Jacob has arrived at Sense-perception (Haran), and that (the incident in) this place is on the way to his vision of God (Israel).

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(see *Som.* i. 133-188, and the Analytical Summary, V. pp. 289-291)

When Rachel demanded children of him, thinking that sense-perception and mind can procreate all things (*Post.* 179 ; virtue, *Leg. All.* iii. 180), Jacob expostulated, saying that he was not in the place of God (xxx. 1f), that is, that God is antecedent to the mind and the only Cause (*Leg. All.* ii. 46f)

Jacob and Laban divided the flocks. Jacob's share was the variegated beasts, Laban's those without mark (xxx. 42). This division represents that between things approved by their stamp, awarded by God to the lover of instruction, and those having no mark, assigned to the man of ignorance (*Quis Her.* 180, *Fug.* 9f). The soul can refuse impressions, or it can submissively receive indelible stamps (*ib.* 181). In *Fug.* 11 ἐπίσημος^a passes to Jacob himself as champion of a theistic philosophy against the materialist Laban ; the world is created, and each thing has been shaped and marked by God's Word. Jacob's dream about the flocks (xxxi. 10ff, *Som.* i. 189-256) refers to the couplings and breedings of thoughts (*Som.* i. 197), the mating of well-endowed souls with perfect virtues (200), ' variegated ' like the branches of knowledge (205). Jacob flees from Laban (xxxi. 20f). This was flight inspired by hatred^b (*Fug.* 4), shared by the faculties and virtues of the Practiser.^c It is the soul's flight

^a In *Som.* i. 202 ἐπίσημος may have suggested ' genuine ' coinage ; see note.

^b The earlier flight from Esau was one of fear.

^c ἀσκητικαὶ δυνάμεις, i.e. Rachel and Leah, Gen. xxxi. 14-16 ; *Fug.* 14f, cf. *Congr.* 31.

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from materialism (*ib.* 8), from folly (14), from the passions (22, *Leg. All.* iii. 15-19), to the height and greatness of virtue (Gilead)

The wrestling of Gen. xxxii. 24f marks a stage in the soul's progress, as contrasted with Jacob's victory and new name (xxxii. 28, *Mig.* 200). It is the exercise given by the Logos to the pupil-athlete to develop his strength (*Som.* i. 129, *Mut.* 14 & n; contrast *Mig.* 27). In *Mut.* 14, *Som.* i. 131, it represents the quest for virtue. In *Praem.* 48 it is apparently a wrestling against passions within himself. The numbing of the thigh ligament is the paralysing of conceit (*ib.* 47f), a voluntary disabling (*Som.* i. 131), yet the reward for victory (*Praem.* 47, *Som.* i. 130); but in *Mut.* 187 we are told that virtue is not sound-footed in our mortal and bodily nature, but limps a little. Elsewhere the reward is the vision of God (*Mut.* 82, cf. *Som.* i. 129). Apart from all this, the 'wrestling' has provided Philo with a metaphor which he uses frequently to describe the Practiser's conflict against the passions (see below)

After the wrestling Jacob was told, "thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel shall thy name be. Because thou hast been strong with God and mighty with men" (xxxii. 28). The second part of the verse indicates the soul's inward and outward purity; to win honour in its duty towards the uncreated and the created demands a mind truly midway between the world and God (*Mut.* 44f); the soul wholeheartedly following virtue will respect both parents, right reason (father), which teaches it

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to honour the Father of all, and instruction (mother), which introduces custom and convention (*Ebr.* 80-83). The change of name from Jacob to Israel is for Philo the most significant incident in Jacob's career. Generally it is associated with his wrestling victory: the prize is the vision of God, Israel (*Mig.* 199-201, *Mut.* 81f, *Praem.* 27). Hitherto Jacob has been characterized by learning and progress, now he has attained perfection (*Ebr.* 82, *Som.* i. 119f, *Praem.* 36; contrast *Mut.* 87); toil in the quest for truth has given place to vision (*Leg. All.* iii. 15, *Praem.* 27); hearing^a is replaced by eyesight (*Ebr.* 82, *Conf.* 72, *Mig.* 38, *Som.* i. 129); or, what was seen before, but dimly, is now seen clearly (*Mut.* 81f, *Som.* i. 177, *Praem.* 37); the irrational element has been conquered, the soul has achieved intellectual apprehension (*Mig.* 199-201). This is a reminting or remodelling of the soul (*μεταχαράττω*, *Mig.* 39, *Som.* i. 129f, 171). Different emphases are found according to the context. Thus in *Ebr.* 83 the advance which this change of name represents wins the approval of both parents, right reason and convention (see above). In *Mig.* 199-201 it is shown that seventy and five (the senses) were associated with Jacob, but seventy only (intellectual apprehension) with Israel. In *Sac.* 119f Reuben is son of Jacob but Levi son of Israel, because devout contemplation is proper to the service of God. Vision is an appropriate reward for the Practiser, as faith was for Abraham and joy for Isaac (*Praem.* 27),

^a Learning depends upon hearing, but the vision of God represents that perfection which does so no longer.

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or because an active life goes with youth but a contemplative one suits old age (*ib.* 51 & [N]). In *Som.* i. 238-241 it is said that hitherto Jacob has mistaken the Logos for God, now he sees God Himself. In *Mut.* 83, 87 it is an angel rather than God that renames Jacob (contr. Abraham) because Jacob continues often to be called by his old name : he is not consistently perfect. In *Praem.* 44-46, on the other hand, it is stressed that the revelation of God is given by God Himself : seekers for truth see God through God (*cf.* 39f, and *Som.* i. 240). Philo sometimes gives the impression that it is the climax of Jacob's own achievement (*cf.* *Som.* i. 171, *Mig.* 199-201, *Mut.* 81f), but then emphasizes that it is a revelation (*e.g.* *Praem.* 27, 36-39, *cf.* *Som.* i. 240). The vision of God only revealed that God is, not what He is (*Praem.* 39). Once or twice Israel is used for Jacob without reference to the renaming (*e.g.* *Leg. All.* ii. 46 & [N],^a *Quod Deus* 121). Otherwise Israel refers to the nation, see *s.v.* Israel. In *Ebr.* 24 the nation is termed 'the Practiser'

Only a few of Philo's further comments on the narrative need be added. "In my rod I crossed this Jordan" (xxxii. 10) is the mind crossing over the lower nature by schooling (*Leg. All.* ii. 89). The hiding of the strange gods (xxxv. 4) is the hiding, guarding, and destroying of passions (*Leg. All.* iii. 23, 27). "The God who feedeth me from my youth up unto this day, the Angel who delivereth me out of all my ills, bless these boys"

^a ὁ βλέπων, although in a context chronologically earlier than the renaming.

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(Jacob's words in xlviii. 15): from this Philo deduces that God rather than the Word feeds Jacob, that is, the principal boons (the various forms of knowledge) are from God Himself, the secondary gifts (remedial) from His Word (*Leg. All.* iii. 177, *Fug.* 66); or, that sustenance is from God rather than created things like rain (*Quod Deus* 157f); or, that God gives the good for virtue-loving souls, while angels have the province of evils for punishment (*Conf.* 181, *Fug.* 67). *Mut.* 41 deals with another phrase, "pleasing before God" rather than to Him

"Jacob departed and was added to his people" (xlix. 33). Like Abraham, he inherited incorruption and joined the angels, advancing to something better (*Sac.* 5)

Mut. 81f tells of Jacob's practice of virtue and warfare (*Som.* i. 174, 255) against the passions,^a and this passage happens to contain most of the links in the chain of Philo's terms for this. Jacob is the *supplanter* of Esau, hence the supplanter of the passions (*Leg. All.* ii. 89, iii. 93, *Sac.* 42), which he is even said to hunt (*Quis Her.* 252 & n). He is the practised *wrestler* (πάλην ἡσκηκόςτος, *Leg. All.* iii. 190), so the struggle is a contest or bout (*Congr.* 31, *Mig.* 200, *Som.* i. 129, 255); the *practised* or *trained* wrestler, so we find athletic metaphors (γεγυμνασμένος, ἀθλητής, etc.).^b

^a His struggle is also directed against ignorance (*Det.* 3), the irrational element (*Mig.* 200), vainglory (*Som.* i. 255), effeminacy (*ib.* 126).

^b γυμνάζω, etc., *Sob.* 65, *Mut.* 84f; ἀθλέω, ἀθλητής, etc., *Mig.* 26f, *Congr.* 70, *Fug.* 43, *Som.* i. 126, 131, 168, 179, cf. *Jos.* 230, *Virt.* 210; and both in *Mig.* 199f, *Som.* i. 129, 251, *Abr.* 48, *Jos.* 26, 223.

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This of course suggests that the vision of God is a *prize* (see above)

Esau provides the most frequent contrast to Jacob, representing passion^a or wickedness and vice,^b folly or ignorance,^c the irrational.^d Once Esau and Jacob are types of the twin natures in man (*Praem.* 63). Laban, too, is passion against Jacob's virtue (*Leg. All.* iii. 18-22), but chiefly he represents the (objects of the) senses^e and corporeal ideas,^f materialist and atheist philosophy (*Fug.* 8f, 11, 46f); he champions particular qualities against Jacob's theism (*Cher.* 67), the laws of time-order (*Ebr.* 48), sophistry (*ib.* 50); he represents ignorance and lack of schooling,^g folly,^h vainglory (*Fug.* 47). With him are associated his daughters,ⁱ but as the wives of Jacob they are faculties or virtues of the Practiser^j

But it is the relationship of Abraham and Isaac to Jacob which most interests Philo. The three form an educational trinity representing the spiritual knowledge or virtue which is reached

^a Passion, *Leg. All.* iii. 2, 190-192, *Sac.* 17f, 42, 81, *Quis Her.* 252-254, *Virt.* 208, *Praem.* 59.

^b Wickedness, *Sac.* 134f, *Det.* 45f, *Mig.* 208, *Congr.* 129.

^c Folly, *Sac.* 17, *Ebr.* 10, *Sob.* 26, *Congr.* 61, 175, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 57; cf. *Virt.* 209, *Praem.* 59. Ignorance, *Fug.* 39-43.

^d τὸ φαῦλον καὶ ἄλογον, *Leg. All.* iii. 88f, *Praem.* 59; φαῦλον also in *Sac.* 18, *Virt.* 209.

^e *Leg. All.* iii. 15-17, 20-22, *Ebr.* 46f, *Mig.* 28, *Fug.* 22, 45.

^f *Leg. All.* iii. 15, *Ebr.* 46f, *Mig.* 28.

^g *Leg. All.* iii. 20, cf. *Quis Her.* 180, *Fug.* 14.

^h *Agr.* 42, *Fug.* 14, 16, 45.

ⁱ E.g., *Cher.* 67, *Leg. All.* iii. 20.

^j E.g., *Cher.* 40 & [N], *Post.* 62, *Congr.* 24 & n-33, *Quis Her.* 43, *Fug.* 15.

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by teaching (Abraham), nature (Isaac), practice (Jacob).^a Most of what Philo has to say about Jacob has been governed by his being the Practiser of virtue : and that rôle was chosen for him because of Philo's wish to reproduce an educational trinity in the Patriarchs. They are compared with each other in these particulars : they are all founders of the race (*Mut.* 88, *cf.* *Jos.* 172), God names Himself by them (*Mut.* 12, *Mos.* i. 76), their descent has spiritual significance^b (*Som.* i. 166-170), they have certain qualities in them, whether these are potential or active (*Sob.* 38), they are sojourners only (*Conf.* 79-81), their deaths are a progress to something better (*Sac.* 5-7). They represent learning by teaching, by nature, by practice^c ; *Mig.* 125 offers a variation on the theme : the Patriarchs are the threefold divisions of eternity (see note). Isaac is once or twice distinguished from Abraham and Jacob^d

^a *Sac.* 5-7 & [N], *Sob.* 38 & n, *Conf.* 79-81, *Mig.* 125 & [N], *Congr.* 34-36, *Mut.* 12 & [N], 83-88, *Som.* i. 166-170, *cf.* 160, 173, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. x & n, xi & n, *Abr.* 48-55, *Jos.* 1, *Mos.* i. 76, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi, *Praem.* 24-27, 49-51 & [N], 57ff. The threefold education is also mentioned, without reference to the Patriarchs, in *Leg.* 320.

^b Abraham is called 'father' of Jacob in Gen. xxviii. 13. But see also the passages where Philo speaks of Abraham being grandfather of Jacob's knowledge : *Sac.* 43, *Som.* i. 47 & [N], 70, *cf.* *Quod Deus* 92 & [N].

^c διδασκαλία, φύσις, ἀσκησις are found in *Sob.* 38 (*Conf.* 79-81), *Abr.* 48-55, *Jos.* 1 (μάθησις for διδασκαλία), *Mos.* i. 76, *Praem.* 24-27, 49-51, 57ff. There is a variation in *Mut.* 12, but see [N].

^d Their names are changed, Isaac's not (*Mut.* 83-88). They married several women, Isaac only one (*Congr.* 34-36)—but in *Cher.* 40f the patriarchs have nothing to do with women, for they reject sense : their wives are virtues. Isaac might

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Jacob's character never suffers eclipse with Philo.

He is the practiser of virtue, the supplanter of passion, at war for the one against the other (see above). His virtue or his being a type of virtue is constantly referred to,^a his pursuit of things noble,^b his wisdom.^c He is the man of worth.^d He becomes perfect.^e We are also told he is wealthy (*Det.* 13f), courageous (*Mut.* 214), holy (*Abr.* 52, *Jos.* 167), a prophet (*Quis Her.* 261), God-loving (*Abr.* 50) and God-beloved (*Sob.* 29, *cf. Som.* i. 243, *Jos.* 167, 200), one of the band of friends of God (*Som.* i. 196)

- I. Gen. Introd. p. xii, *Leg. All.* i. 61, ii. 46 & [N], 89, 94-97, 103, iii. 15-23, 88f, 90, 93, 146, 177, 179-181, 190-195, II. *Cher.* 40, 41 & [N], 46, 67, *Sac.*

seem to lag behind! But Philo is not here thinking of the educational triad.

^a *Leg. All.* iii. 2, 15, 22, 89, 93, *Cher.* 40, *Sac.* 17f, 46, 134f, *Det.* 45, *Ebr.* 82f, *Sob.* 15, 65, *Conf.* 181, *Mig.* 27, 200, *Quis Her.* 256, *Congr.* 24, 35, 123, *Fug.* 21, 25, *Mut.* 14, 81, 83, 171f & nn, *Som.* i. 45, 121, 131, 174, 179, *Abr.* 50, 52, *Jos.* 1, 172, 230, *Mos.* i. 76, *Virt.* 210, *Praem.* 65.

^b *Sac.* 17, *Sob.* 26, *Mig.* 153, *Fug.* 45, *Som.* i. 126, 131, 251, *Jos.* 4.

^c *Leg. All.* iii. 2, 25f, 195, *Sac.* 18, 48, 135, *Ebr.* 48, *Sob.* 27, *Mig.* 101, *Som.* i. 70, 169, 175f, 178, 205, 207, *Jos.* 191, *Mos.* i. 76, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 3, *Virt.* 223, *Praem.* 51. *Cf. Quod Deus* 119, *Quis Her.* 180, *Fug.* 45-47.

^d ἀστέιος, *Leg. All.* iii. 23, 89, 191, *Sac.* 5, *Conf.* 73, *Som.* i. 176.

^e He becomes τέλειος by his victory over Esau (*Mig.* 208; but contrast *Fug.* 39f, 'child'); but in *Som.* i. 213 he is said to be not yet perfect, because Philo mostly thinks of Jacob reaching perfection after his wrestling victory, when he became Israel (*Ebr.* 82, *Mig.* 27, 199-201, 214, *Som.* i. 131). His perfection is through practice: *Agr.* 42, *Conf.* 181, *Congr.* 35. In *Mut.* 83-87 he does not remain consistently perfect even after the change of name.

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5, 17f, 42, 46-48, 64, 81 & n, 119f, 134f, *Det.* 3-5, 13f, 17, 45, 46 & n, 51 & n, 67, *Post.* 59 & [N], 62, 75f, 78, 89, 179, *Gig.* 22 [N], III. *Quod Deus* 92, 119-121, 157f, *Agr.* 42, *Plant.* 44, 90, 110 & [N], *Ebr.* 9f, 24, 48 & [N], 53, 82f, 120, *Sob.* 12, 15, 26-29, 38 & n, 65 & n, 66, IV. *Conf.* 72-74, 80, 181, 182n, *Mig.* 5, 26-30, 38f, 101, 125 & [N], 153f, 159f, 199-201, 207 & [N]-214, *Quis Her.* 38, 43, 180, 242[N], 251-254 & n, 256, 261, *Congr.* 24 & n, 31-35, 61f, 70, 99, 123, 129, 175f, V. *Fug.* 4, 7-52 (esp. 10, 23-25 & [N], 39-48 & 45[N], 52), 67, 143, *Mut.* 12 & [N]-14, 41, 44-46, 81-88, 92, 94, 97, 171 & n, 172 & n, 187, 210, 214f, *Som.* i. 1-2[N], 3f, 5n, 45-47 & [N], 61, 68-72, 112n, 115 & n-120, 125, 126 & n & [N]-133, 144, 150, 159 & n, 163, 166-182 & n, (183-188), 189f, 196-205, 207f & n, 213, 227f, 238, 240 & n, 249-256, *Som.* ii. 15, 19f, 66, 135, 136n, 141, 207 & n, VI. *Gen. Introd.* pp. x-xii, xv n, xvi f, *Abr.* 48-56, *Jos.* 1, 4f, 8-14, 20, 22-27, 163-270 (esp. 223, 230), *Mos.* i. 76, 239-242, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 3 & n, VIII. *Gen. Introd.* pp. xviii, xxi, *Virt.* 6n, 208 & n & [N]-210, 223f, *Praem.* 24-27, 36-39, 40n, 44 & n, 51, 57, 59f, 61n, 63, 65f & n & [N], 78[N], 166n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 57, (*Flacc.* 74n), *Hyp.* 6. 1 & n

Jamneia : X. *Leg.* 200, 203

Japhet : praised for covering over the soul's sad change (I. *Leg. All.* ii. 63) ; Noah's prayer for Japhet (*Gen.* ix. 27) is that mind and body and external advantages may all contribute to his attaining the good (III. *Sob.* 59-61 & [N]), though his final home is to be the excellence of the soul (67f). See also III. *Sob. Introd.* p. 441

Jason : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 143

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Jehovah : VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 217n, 222n

Jeremiah : II. *Cher.* 49 & [N]. See Scripture Index

Jerusalem : the 'city of God' in one sense is the whole world ; in another sense it is the soul of the sage. Its name Jerusalem means 'vision of peace' ; and God is peace, and dwells in the peace-loving soul. (V. *Som.* ii. 246-254), IX. *Flacc.* 46, X. *Leg.* 156, 203, 220, 225, 231f, 278, 281, 288f, 312f, 315, 346

Jethro : Jethro symbolizes *τῦφος*, 'vanity.'^a In Greek his name is *περισσός*, for which it is hard to find an equivalent in English.^b His is the mind which welcomes conceit (*τῦφος*) in preference to truth, and conceit is an 'uneven' thing (*περισσόν*) ; the conceit that modifies basic principles and so deceives the true life (*Agr.* 43 & [N]) ; the vacillating opinion whose superficial wisdom (*δοκησίσοφος*) contrasts with the true wisdom of Moses (*Ebr.* 36f) ; the one who jeers at things equal (*ἴσα*) and necessary to life, and glorifies the inequalities of surplus (? 'covetousness' : *πλεονεξίας ἄνισα σεμνύνων*, *Mut.* 103 & n). Besides *δοκησίσοφος* (*Ebr.* 37, *Mut.* 105), Philo uses *δημαγωγέω* (*Ebr.* 37) and *ἀσέβεια* (*ib.* 41) of Jethro. For his interpretation of Jethro's advice to Moses see *Ebr.* 36-40 ; compare *Mut.* 103ff & nn, where Philo misrepresents the story

^a *τῦφος*, *Gig.* 50, *Agr.* 43, *Ebr.* 36 (*πλάσμα τύφου*), 40, *Mut.* 103, 114.

^b Whitaker began with 'worldling' in *Sac.* 50 ; used 'uneven' in *Agr.* 43, and withdrew 'worldling' ; in *Mut.* 103 he chose 'superfluous.' See his notes on *Sac.* 50 and *Agr.* 43. *περισσός* is also used in *Gig.* 50.

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In Exod. ii. 18, Num. 10. 29, Moses' father-in-law is Raguel, which means 'the shepherding of God.' This change of name reflects a change of character in Jethro, who is won over to the herd of God in admiration of Moses' direction of it (*Mut.* 105). His connexion with Midian ^a signifies that he is the judicial justice-dispensing sort, with seven daughters symbolizing the seven faculties of the unreasoning element (*ib.* 110-120)

II. *Sac.* 50 & [N], *Post.* 77, *Gig.* 50, III. *Agr.* 43 & [N], *Ebr.* 36-45, IV. *Quis Her.* 44, V. *Mut.* 103-114, 104nn, VI. *Mos.* i. 52, 58f, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 173

Jews, Jewish ^b: In *Mos.* i. 67 Philo says that the Burning Bush was a symbol of the suffering Jews. In *Spec. Leg.* iv. 179 he remarks that the race is in the position of an orphan compared with the nations all around. In *Virt.* 65 he says that what others gain from philosophy the Jews gain from their customs and laws, that is, to know the Cause of all

VI. *Mos.* i. 7, 34, ii. 17, 25, 41, 193, 216, VII. *Decal.* 96, *Spec. Leg.* i. 97, ii. 163, 166, iii. 46, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 173-175 & n, 179, 224, *Virt.* 65, 108, 206, 212, 226, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 29, 43, 57, 68, 75, *Aet.* 19, *Flacc.* 1, 21, 23f, 29, 43, 45, 47, 49, 54-56,

^a It is as Jethro he is priest of Midian (Exod. iii. 1). Philo associates this good, judiciary character of Midian with Raguel (*Mut.* 110ff); perhaps he intended us to infer that the bad sense of Midian applies to Jethro, but omitted any explicit statement for lack of a convenient text to illustrate Jethro being 'sifted out.' See Midian.

^b The references only include the passages in which the word occurs in the Greek text. See also Israel, Hebrews, Alexandrians.

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- 66, 73f, 80, 85f, 94, 96, 116, 170, 189, 191, **X. Leg.** 115, 117, 129, 133f, 154f, 157-160, 170, 182, 184, 194, 198, 200f, 205, 210, 216, 222, 226, 245, 248, 253, 256, 278, 282, 307, 311, 313, 315f, 330, 333, 335, 346, 350, 355, 368, 370f, 373
- Job : **V. Mut.** 48, **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** Introd. p. 5n, *Prov.* Introd. p. 449
- Jobel : **II. Post.** 83-100. Son of Ada, and μέγιστον κακόν, for he removes the landmarks fixed by the natural order (83 ; by divine principles, 89), the boundaries of virtue fixed by right reason (91). His name means 'altering' (83, 93), and he changed the virtues for vices (93), adulterating the original coinage (98). He is the father of all those who rear what is not of the soul but of the senses (99)
- Jordan : Jacob said, "In my rod I crossed this Jordan" (*Gen.* xxxii. 10)—the supplanter of the passions, the disciplined mind, by schooling himself crossed the lower nature : for Jordan means 'descent.' Philo adds that it would be ταπεινόν to take the verse at its face value, **I. Leg. All.** ii. 89. The three Cities of Refuge beyond Jordan are the three divine Potencies that are far removed from men, **V. Fug.** 87, 103. Add **VI. Mos.** i. 319, 330, **VII. Spec. Leg.** i. 158
- Joseph : Philo's treatment in the Allegorical Commentary is most unfair to the Joseph we find in Genesis. Presumably this was forced upon him by his own allegorical scheme ; for most of Joseph's career takes place in Egypt, the type of the body and its passions, and he is there honoured as second only to Pharaoh, the anti-thesis of all that is good. In order to present

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Joseph in this unfavourable light, Philo often ignores texts uncongenial to his thesis, or misrepresents those which he does quote.^a Nevertheless he does sometimes allow Joseph to have had good qualities ^b and to be a type of the good soul.^c In the *De Josepho*, however, the whole approach is reversed ; no praise can be too high for the Patriarch (*φύλαρχος*, *Jos.* i.), and only once does Philo hint at a flaw in his character.^d Again and again we find what amounts to a categorical denial of things which he has said of him in the earlier works. An indication of this is given in Philo's discussion of Joseph's name. It means, he says, 'Addition'—of external advantages (*Mut.* 89f), of spurious qualities (*Som.* ii. 47), of vanity rather than simplicity (*ib.* 63). But in *Jos.* 28 it is 'Addition of a lord,' and refers—favourably—to his political career. For a further discussion of this see VI. Gen. Introd. pp. xii-xiv

Joseph is the politician,^e attempting to 'keep in' with two worlds, the real and the sham, prepared to compromise (*Mig.* 158, 162, *Som.* ii. 14f) and

^a Philo omits, *e.g.*, that Jacob loved Joseph and that he gave him the coat (xxxvii. 3a), and that the Lord was with Joseph and gave him favour with the gaoler (xxxix. 2a, 21); he misrepresents xxxix. 1 by applying 'eunuch' to the Joseph-soul (*Quod Deus* 111 & [N]), xxxvii. 33 by assuming the false allegation there to be true (*Som.* ii. 65f & n, *Jos.* 36), and perhaps 1. 7f (*Mig.* 159f). In *Mig.* 21 (see [N]) the misrepresentation is in Joseph's favour.

^b Philo lists these in *Mig.* 18-24.

^c *Fug.* 126-131, *Mut.* 214f.

^d *Jos.* 34-36.

^e *ὁ πολιτικός*, *Leg. All.* iii. 179, *Jos.* 1, *ὁ πολιτικός τρόπος*, *Fug.* 126, *cf. Mig.* 159, *Som.* i. 221, *πολιτεία*, *Det.* 6, *Som.* i. 78, 219f. See p. 354, note c.

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to subordinate truth to expediency or falsehood (*Det.* 7, *Som.* i. 220), accommodating himself to both body and soul (*Mig.* 159, *cf.* *Som.* ii. 11, i. 78); and, being a politician, he is often given to worldly and unspiritual ambitions (*Mig.* 163, *cf.* *Som.* i. 219f, ii. 12, 16; contrast *Fug.* 126), he is eager for vainglory,^a self-opinionated,^b presumptuous (*Som.* ii. 99), swollen-headed with vanity^c

Because Egypt is the scene of his activity, his πολιτεία is connected with the body (*Som.* i. 78, *cf.* *Mig.* 159); his responsible position signifies care for the body (*Post.* 96, *Sob.* 13, *Mut.* 90, *Som.* ii. 42, 46). So Joseph is the lover of the body and its passions,^d the champion of the body and externals,^e fond of luxury (*Som.* ii. 9, 16). From his mother he inherited the irrational strain of sense-perception (τὸ ἄλογον αἰσθήσεως, *Som.* ii. 16), and it found expression in his marriage (*Som.* i. 78 & n), his fondness for Benjamin (*Mig.* 203), and his corn laws (*ib.*).^f Yet Joseph is a Hebrew, 'emigrant' from sense-perception (*Mig.* 20, *cf.* *Som.* ii. 107), although in Egypt, he is ruler rather than subject (*Mig.* 20, *Quis Her.* 256), he is proof

^a κενὴ δόξα, *Agr.* 56, *Sob.* 15, *Som.* ii. 12, 16, 42, 78, 93-99, 115, 155, *cf.* *Mig.* 21; δοξομανέω, *ib.* 114.

^b Δοκησίσοφος, *Leg. All.* iii. 179.

^c ποικίλος τοῦ βίου τύφος, *Conf.* 72; *cf.* *Mig.* 161 & [N], *Som.* ii. 46f, 63f, 66, 95, 98, 115, 139.

^d Ὁ φιλοσώματος καὶ φιλοπαθῆς νοῦς, *Quod Deus* 111, *Mig.* 16; see also *Quod Deus* 120, *Agr.* 56, *Som.* ii. 16.

^e Of the three goods, soul, body, and externals (see *Det.* 7[N]), Joseph is concerned with the lower two: so *Sob.* 13, *Mig.* 22 & n, 203. In *Det.* 7 and *Som.* ii. 9, 11, all three classes are mentioned.

^f αἰσθησις also in *Mig.* 207, *Som.* ii. 65, 107.

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against luxury (*Mut.* 215), from his father he inherited self-control ^a

Joseph began by shepherding the sheep with his half-brothers as a young man ^b (*Gen.* xxxvii. 2). This association with the sons of Jacob's concubines is fitting, for Joseph's concern is with lower things (*Quod Deus* 119-121) and those who honour spurious goods (*Sob.* 12-15); he pastures the realm of the body (*ib.*) and irrational natures (*Agr.* 55f). Philo ignores Jacob's love for Joseph, but the coat of many colours (xxxvii. 3, ποικίλον χιτῶνα) indicates the complex doctrine (λαβυρινθώδης καὶ δυσέκλυτος δόξα) of the three goods (see above, p. 353, note *e*; *Det.* 6-9, 28); it is the robe of statecraft, variegated with falsehood and sophistry (*Som.* i. 219-225; contrast *Jos.* 32). It also underlies Philo's description of Joseph's character in *Conf.* 72 (ποικίλος τοῦ βίου τῦφος), and probably that in *Som.* ii. 10-16 (δόξα πολυμυγῆς καὶ κεκραμένη) and 66 (ὁ πολυπλοκώτατος . . . τυφοπλασθηθεὶς βίος) ^c

^a ἐγκρατής, ἐγκράτεια, *Leg. All.* iii. 237-241, *Det.* 19, *Som.* ii. 15, 106, *Jos.* 54f.

^b ὦν νέος; xlix. 22, νεώτατος. He remains young and immature, *Quod Deus* 119f, *Agr.* 55f, *Sob.* 12-15, *Conf.* 72 (where the translation seems to miss this allusion); cf. *Leg. All.* iii. 242, *Mig.* 205.

^c Philo's chain of ideas is also πολυπλοκώτατος, and can best be shown by a diagram. For δόξα see *Som.* ii. 15, *Det.* 6-8; the arrows indicate the influence of one idea upon another; for Αἴγυπτος—τῦφος see *Mig.* 160 & [N].



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The dreams of the sheaves and the stars (xxxvii. 7-11) reveal the vainglory of Joseph's character (*Som.* ii. 5-7, 30-33, 78, 93-99, 110-116; contrast *Jos.* 5-11). His father sends him to join his brothers in the plain (xxxvii. 13-17) to learn to discipline his lower nature (*Det.* 5f, 10-17); so he seeks and finds the virtuous family (*Fug.* 126-128)

Joseph was taken to Egypt and sold to Pharaoh's chief cook, a eunuch (xxxix. 1, lxx). So the body-loving mind is enslaved to Pleasure (*Quod Deus* 111).^a But Potiphar's wife fails to entice him (xxxix. 7-11), and here Joseph appears in a good light as the type of self-control (*Leg. All.* iii. 237-242, *Mig.* 19, 21 & [N], *Som.* ii. 106; and see p. 354, note *a*). Unjustly imprisoned, Joseph acts as an interpreter of dreams.^b In *Mig.* 19 Philo gives him credit for saying God is the author of interpretations; but in *Cher.* 128 he blames him for saying they are *through* God instead of *by* Him (xl. 8). The interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams resulted in Joseph being set over all the land of Egypt (xli. 41f), which Philo treats caustically (*Som.* ii. 44; but see *Mig.* 20). Pharaoh put Joseph in his second chariot: but this is Joseph's conceit (*Som.* ii. 16, 46, *Mig.* 160 & [N]; contrast *Jos.* 148-150). Pharaoh also changed his name to Psonthomphanecli, 'mouth

^a Philo applies 'eunuch' to the Joseph-soul. See p. 352, note *a*.

^b *Som.* ii. 42, 78. In view of their context, these titles should probably be regarded as uncomplimentary; in this book Philo constantly depreciates Joseph's dreams (*Som.* ii. 42, 97, 105, 138; contrast *Jos.* 95) and ignores his skill at interpretation.

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which judges in answer,' which Philo makes to suggest that fools will look for wise pronouncements from any man who happens to have great wealth (*Mut.* 89-91)

When his father learns that Joseph lives,^a it means Joseph claimed to have real life—to Jacob's surprise, who expected him to have shared in the death of vain opinions and of the body (*Mig.* 21 & n, *cf. Quis Her.* 256), or to have succumbed to the luxury with which he was surrounded (*Mig.* 214f, *cf. Fug.* 126). Joseph's words in l. 19, "I am of God," also win approval (*Mig.* 22, 160, *Som.* ii. 107, *Jos.* 265f). On his death he was buried in a coffin in Egypt, but he had requested that his bones accompany his people (l. 25f); so the lower side of Joseph's personality is said to have been buried in Egypt (body) and forgotten, but the higher qualities are worthy to be remembered, and leave Egypt with Moses (*Mig.* 16-24, *Som.* ii. 105-109)

- I. Gen. Introd. pp. xii & n, xiii, xxii n, *Leg. All.* iii. 90-93, 179f, 237-242, II. *Cher.* 128, *Det.* 5-28, *Post.* 80, 96, III. *Quod Deus* 111 & [N]-116, 119-121, *Agr.* 55-59, *Ebr.* 210, *Sob.* 12-15, 27, IV. *Conf.* 71f, *Mig.* 16 & n-24 & 17[N], 21[N], 23[N], 159-163 & n & 160[N], 203f, 207 & [N], *Quis Her.* 242[N], 251, 256, V. *Fug.* 73, 126-131, *Mut.* 89-91, 97, 170, 171 & n, 215, *Som.* i. 78, 219-225, ii. 5-21, 30, 33, 42-44, 46f, 64-66, 78, 93-116, 135-141, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. xii-xiv & nn, *Jos. passim*,

^a xlv. 26, the brothers report that Joseph is alive; 28, Jacob rejoices that he is alive; xlv. 30, he says so to Joseph. For other points in Gen. xlv see *Leg. All.* iii. 179f, *Mig.* 21-23, *Quis Her.* 251, 256, *Mut.* 171, 215.

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- VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 51[N], VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xviii n, *Praem.* 65[N], IX. *Flacc.* 72n, *Prov.* 2. 46n
 Joshua : in the incident of Exod. xxxii, Joshua represents a man's *feeling* inward tumult, while Moses is the reasoning side of his nature interpreting the true cause (III. *Ebr.* 96-98 & [N], 103f). Joshua's name had been Hoshea, 'he is saved'; it was changed to Joshua, 'salvation'; thus it is a change from an individual to a state, the one mortal, the other permanent, and so the coin was reminted in a better form (V. *Mut.* 121 & n-123). Add VI. *Mos.* i. 216, (232-236), VIII. *Virt.* 55f, 60, 66-70 & n, 72
 Jubal : II. *Post.* 100-111. Brother of Jobal (*q.v.*) and akin in meaning; for it means 'inclining now this way, now that' (μετακλίνων), and it is a figure for the uttered word (ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν λόγος), the unsure speech of the wavering mind (100). He is the inventor of musical instruments, which are inferior to song-birds but, like articulate speech, capable of such *varied* utterance that it is natural that they should be invented by one μετακλίνων λόγους (103-111)
 Judaea : VI. *Mos.* ii. 31, IX. *Hyp.* ii. 1, X. *Leg.* 199f, 207, 215, 257, 281, 294, 299
 Judah : Philo's interest in Judah is in his name and in the Tamar story. His name means 'confession of praise to the Lord.'^a This is the crowning virtue, and so there is significance in Leah ceasing to bear after giving birth to Judah (Gen. xxix. 35)^b and in his being the fourth son: for

^a *Leg. All.* i. 80, 82, ii. 95f, iii. 26, 146, *Plant.* 134-136, *Ebr.* 94, *Congr.* 125, *Mut.* 136, *Som.* i. 37, ii. 34.

^b *Leg. All.* i. 80, ii. 95, iii. 146, *Plant.* 134f, *Som.* i. 37f.

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four is the number of praise and thanksgiving ; Issachar is appropriately so called (' reward '), because he was born next after Judah (xxx. 18), and thanksgiving itself is an all-sufficient reward (*Plant.* 134-136). In *Leg. All.* i. 79-84 Philo compares Judah with Issachar. Judah represents good sense (*φρόνησις*) as a mystical spiritual condition, Issachar good sense in the action of noble deeds. With this Philo links Judah's name ; for ' thanksgiving ' takes a man out of himself, making him independent of the body, while he acknowledges that even praise is the work, not of the soul, but of God. All this is in the discussion of the precious stones of Gen. ii. 12 ; so Judah is engraved on the ruby of the High Priest's robes, because he is permeated by fire in thanksgiving and drunk with sober drunkenness

Philo varies his interpretation of the Tamar incident, but consistently idealizes it. In *Congr.* 125f he is the lover of learning unveiling knowledge to discover its virtue. In *Fug.* 149-156 the story is an instance of seeking and not finding (by Judah's messenger) invincible virtue. Here Judah is the mind wooing piety (*θεοσέβεια*) and giving pledges of his sincerity. In *Mut.* 134-136 Tamar's veil prevents her seeing her wooer, though she recognizes his pledges : it is God impregnating the soul, the pledges being His working in the universe. Judah is the thankful character, gratified that no profane element has defiled the divine. In *Som.* ii. 44f Judah is king of the race of vision (Israel), and Tamar is the soul. The pledges are again God's working in

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the universe, but it is Judah who teaches the soul. In *Virt.* 221f Judah is not mentioned; but see [N]. The description of Judah as 'king' (*Congr.* 125, *Som.* ii. 44; cf. ἀρχικὸς φύσει, *Jos.* 189) seems to depend upon the 'staff' in the story

- I. Gen. Intro. p. xii n, *Leg. All.* i. 80 & n & [N]-84, ii. 95f, iii. 26, 74, 146, III. *Plant.* 134-136, *Ebr.* 94, IV. *Quis Her.* 255 & n, *Congr.* 125f, V. *Fug.* 73f, 149-156, 150[N], *Mut.* 134-136 & 135n, *Som.* i. 37f, ii. 34, 44 & n, 45, VI. *Jos.* 15, 189, 222-231, VIII. *Virt.* 221[N]

Julia Augusta : X. *Leg.* 291, 319f

Julius Caesar : see s.v. Caesar

Jupiter : IV. *Quis Her.* 224

Kadesh : V. *Fug.* 195f, 213. The spring at which Rebecca fills her water-pot (Gen. xxiv. 16) is the Divine Wisdom, which waters the fields of knowledge and souls that love the best. Philo identifies this with En-Mishpat ('spring of judgement' or 'sifting') at Kadesh ('holy') in Gen. xiv. 7, and says the Wisdom of God is holy and free from earthy ingredient (= Kadesh) and a sifting of all the universe, separating opposites (= κρισις). In 213 Hagar's well (xvi. 14) between Bered and Kadesh is the well of School knowledge, so situated because he that is in gradual progress is on the borderland between the holy and the profane, fleeing from the bad but not yet ready to share the perfect good

Keturah : wife or concubine of Abraham (Gen. xxv. 1), meaning 'incense-burning'; interpreting xxv. 5f, Philo contrasts true wisdom with school-

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learning (suggested by Hagar); the man engaged on this can only shed over the soul a *fragrance* from his studies, he cannot truly feed it. III. *Sac.* 43f, (VIII. *Praem.* 23[N])

Kibroth-Hattaavah : VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 130 & n

Korah : V. *Fug.* 145f,^a (VI. *Mos.* ii. 275-287), VIII. *Gen.*

Introd. p. xxi, *Praem.* 75 & n, 78[N]

Kore : VII. *Decal.* 54

Laban : in the Genesis narratives, and consequently in Philo, Laban acts as a foil to Jacob ; much, therefore, of Laban's story may be found in that of Jacob (*q.v.*). Laban means 'whitening' (λευκασμός, *Agr.* 42 ; λευκός, *Fug.* 44) and that suggests *colours* generally (*Mig.* 213) ; these in turn suggest *variety* of character or ideas (*ib.* 213, 28, *Cher.* 67). Laban therefore stands for the man who sets his mind on *colours, forms, bodies*, and all things belonging to the *senses* (*Leg. All.* iii. 15, 22, *Sac.* 46, *Ebr.* 46f). His connexion with Haran also implies sense-perception (*Som.* i. 41-46, *Fug.* 45f), so that this is the most consistent significance of Laban^b

Laban's name, 'white,' suggests *brightness*, the bright success of *vainglory* (*Fug.* 44, 47 ; cf. *Som.* i. 126 & n).^c But it also suggests *colours*, things which belong to sense and appearance, so shadowy and deceptive, and *unreal values* (*Agr.* 42). But once again, *colours* have suggested the

^a Where, it seems to me, Philo is playing upon the likeness of Κορέ (LXX) to κόρη, 'maiden' ; this has not been shown in the translation.

^b αἰσθητά in *Leg. All.* iii. 15-17, 20-22, *Det.* 4, *Agr.* 42, *Ebr.* 46f, *Mig.* 28, 208-214, *Fug.* 22, 45f ; cf. *Som.* i. 41f.

^c To this 'Syrian' contributes also in *Fug.* 44.

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variety of things that belong to the world of sense, including bodies or corporeal ideas ; this leads Philo to the philosophical concept of the three ' goods ' or values—those of the soul, the body, and externals (see *s.v.* Joseph). Laban has no share in the divine values (*i.e.*, of the soul ; *Fug.* 20) : his philosophy is that of the body and external things (*Leg. All.* iii. 20, *Ebr.* 46-52 & [51[N], *cf.* *Det.* 4) ; here we probably link up with the αἰσθητὰ καὶ φαινόμενα ἀγαθὰ of *Agr.* 42. Whether he is drawing upon αἰσθητὰ generally or σώματα in particular, Philo makes Laban also represent the *passions* (*Leg. All.* iii. 19-22)

In *Fug.* 8-22, esp. 8-13, Philo might be thought to reverse Laban's philosophy of ποιότης, variety. But in fact what he says there is partly governed by antithesis with Jacob and the terms under discussion (ἄσχημος, ἐπίσχημος ; see *s.v.* Jacob), and partly by his argument, which here is directed against an *evolutionary philosophy* (11-13[N], *cf.* *Som.* i. 45f). Laban's sheep typify the irrational (*Sac.* 46f), as do his shepherds, apparently (*Mig.* 212f) ; and Laban enslaves the rational Jacob (*Leg. All.* iii. 17, *cf.* 19). So he typifies the *irrational* element. This goes with his interest in the bodily things ^a and his neglect of the highest good, that of the soul or mind

Because of his opposition to Jacob, one of the educational triad, Laban comes to be ignorant, foolish, and unwilling to learn. He loses his daughters to Jacob, a stripping of the virtues which leaves him worthless indeed (*Fug.* 15-18) ; but he is really their foe, a hater of virtue (*Quis*

^a *Leg. All.* iii. 15, 22, *Ebr.* 46f, *Mig.* 28, *Som.* i. 45f.

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Her. 43f). Or, their going is the departure of his good sense, leaving him ignorant and uneducated (*Leg. All.* iii. 20-22), as does the loss of the arts and branches of knowledge (*Cher.* 67-71). In *Ebr.* 46-55 his attempt to marry the elder to Jacob before the younger was a mistaken adherence to time order and a sophistic flouting of the natural sequence of education—first the School culture and then the higher training in philosophy. As brother of Rebecca he is regarded more leniently than as Laban the Syrian (*Fug.* 44-46, *cf.* *Leg. All.* iii. 18); but as Bethuel he becomes divine Wisdom (*Fug.* 49-52)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 15-22, II. *Cher.* 67-70, *Sac.* 46f, *Det.* 4, *Post.* 59 & [N], 76, III. *Agr.* 42, *Ebr.* 46-52, IV. *Conf.* 74, *Mig.* 28, 208-214, *Quis Her.* 43f, 180, V. *Fug.* 4, 7-22 & 11-13[N] & 16[N], 44-52 & 45[N], 143, *Som.* i. 1-2[N], 45f, 126n, 189, 202n, 225-227, VIII. *Virt.* 223 & n

Lacedaemonia : see Sparta

Laconian : see Sparta

Laius : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 15

Lamech : II. *Det.* 50f, *Post.* 40f, 46-48, 74f, 79-81, 112, 124. Lamech, whose name means 'humiliation' or 'lowness' (*ταπεινωσις*), appears as a descendant both of Cain and of Seth (*Gen.* iv. 18, v. 25). The name therefore has a twofold application. There is the 'lowness' to which the soul is reduced by irrational passions owing to weakness : this is the Cain strain (*cf.* *Det.* 50); and there is the self-imposed check to conceit, an exercise of strength : herein lies Lamech's being a descendant of Seth and father of Noah (*Post.* 40f, 46-48). His grandfather and father

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(Methuselah, iv. 18) had names indicating soul-death, and his own refers to the low state to which the soul is brought by the birth of passion (*ib.* 74). "Lamech took unto himself two wives" (iv. 19). When a worthless man presumes to take anything to himself it is bound to be evil, and Lamech chose two very great evils (75). He arranged the marriage for himself, because he fancied the mind should proceed to its ends unhindered; and in his case they were wrong ends (79-81). His words to his wives in Gen. iv. 23 illustrate that, because the soul's actions affect the soul itself, the worthless man's wrongdoing is an injury to himself (*Det.* 50f)

Lamia : X. *Leg.* 351

Lampo : IX. *Flacc.* 20 & n & [N], 125-135

Leah : 'virtue.'^a With this Philo fits his interpretation of her name: twice he takes the Greek *Λαία*, associating this with Jacob's 'smooth' nakedness of soul (Esau was hairy, Jacob *λεῖος*, *Leg. All.* ii. 59), and with the 'smooth' movement of Leah's peaceful virtue (Rachel's is combatant, *Congr.* 25-32); otherwise he derives it from Hebrew words, *lo*, 'not,' and *lahah*, 'to be weary.' Thus in *Cher.* 41 Leah means 'rejected and weary'—with sustained practice (of virtue), 'rejected,' because every fool says 'no' to her and turns from her.^b In *Mut.* 253-255 the same

^a In almost every passage. Philosophy contrasted with the lower culture in *Ebr.* 46-53. Beauty of soul (tantamount to virtue) contrasted with that of the body in *Sob.* 12

^b But see the translation and [N] at *Cher.* 41, where Colson takes the relative to refer to the *ἀσκήσεως*, immediately antecedent; I have ventured an alternative rendering, taking Leah as the (admittedly remote) antecedent of 'whom'

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interpretation is given for 'rejected,' but 'weary' is 'causing weariness through the commands she lays upon us (Virtue).' In *Mig.* 145 κοπιῶσα is intransitive, 'growing weary': for it is the life of wickedness which causes weariness, and she in fact refuses to have anything to do with it; she 'wearies of' it

Laban justified marrying Leah to Jacob before Rachel because she was the elder (*Gen.* xxix. 26f); this was to claim that the senior culture, philosophy, may precede the junior, the School learning, and that it may be deserted in favour of the latter. Jacob's reply means he will never leave philosophy (*Ebr.* 46-53)

"When the Lord saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb" (xxix. 31). Most of what Philo says about Leah revolves round this text. "Leah was hated": man hates virtue, but God honours her by making her the first to bear (*Leg. All.* ii. 47, *Mut.* 132f); men hate virtue, because she despises their association with sense-perception (Rachel): but she has fellowship with God (*Post.* 134f); Leah and Rachel together representing the 'mixed' life, men naturally prefer the pleasant life of the senses to the austere life of knowledge and virtue (*Quis Her.* 45-48); men dissent from that to which God assents, namely virtue and the commands which she lays upon us (*Mut.* 253-255). God "opened her womb": this Philo interprets as the impregnation of virtue by God Himself (*Leg. All.* ii. 47, *Cher.* 43f;

('which'): Leah is never ἀσκησις, always virtue; and in the close parallel in *Mut.* 253-255 it is Leah and virtue from which men 'turn away.'

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cf. Congr. 7, and perhaps *Quis Her. 50f*); He is the husband, but as Leah bore "to Jacob," Jacob is the father for whose sake God sowed the seed in virtue (*Leg. All. iii. 180, Cher. 46, Mut. 132f*; but *cf. Congr. 7*); by this divine impregnation virtue conceives and bears noble deeds (τὰ καλὰ, *Leg. All. iii. 180, cf. 146, Post. 135, Quis Her. 50, Mut. 255, cf. Congr. 31*)

After bearing Judah (thankfulness) Leah "left bearing" ("stood off"), *Gen. xxix. 35*. This indicates that Judah is the crowning virtue (*Leg. All. i. 80-82 & n*), beyond which Leah could not go (*Som. i. 37f*); and God wanted to balance the good things of the soul (Leah's sons) with progressive representatives of the body (from Rachel and the concubines) (*Leg. All. iii. 146*)

These contrasts with Rachel as sense-perception are not maintained in *Congr. 24-33*. There the soul (*Jacob*) is twofold, the reasoning part having Leah to wife, the unreasoning Rachel. Rachel, acting through the senses, helps the soul to fight the passions: she represents the way of war: Leah is the λεία κίνησις of virtue, most healthy and peaceful, through whom the Practiser reaps the higher and dominant blessings. See 24n

- I. *Gen. Intro. p. xii n, Leg. All. i. 80 & n, ii. 47, 59 & n, 94, iii. 20, 146, 180f, II. Cher. 41 & [N], 44-46, Det. 3, Post. 62, 134f, III. Plant. 134, Ebr. 46-53, Sob. 12, IV. Mig. 95f, 99, 145 & n, Quis Her. 45-48 & 46n, 50, 175, Congr. 7, 24 & n-32, 29[N], 123, V. Fug. 15-19 & 16[N], 73, Mut. 132, 254f, Som. i. 37f, VIII. Virt. 221n, 223 & n-225*

Lepidus: *IX. Flacc. 151, 181*

Levi, Levites: there are few references to Levi as

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an individual, and most of them merge into Levi the tribe.^a The many passages about Levi or Levites as the tribe appointed to the temple service depend upon certain texts. First, Deut. x. 9, "Levi hath no part nor portion with his brethren; the Lord Himself is his portion." With this is usually linked ^b Deut. xxxiii. 9a, "Saying to his father and mother, I have not seen thee, and he acknowledged not his brethren and his sons he disowned"; which Philo seldom quotes but often alludes to in the word *γένεσις*.^c Thus Philo contrasts Levi with the man who leaves father and mother yet 'cleaves to' sense-perception (*Leg. All.* ii. 51); although Reuben is Jacob's oldest son, Levi, being son of 'Israel,' is spiritually senior, and his 'portion' is that of the eldest—God Himself (*Sac.* 119f); like slayers compelled to flee from home to a city of refuge, Levites too are exiles, having left their families to win an immortal portion (*ib.* 129, *Fug.* 102); that is one reason why Levitical cities were chosen for refuge (*Fug.* 88); with proselytes, orphans, and widows, Levites ^d are suppliants

^a *Leg. All.* i. 81, *Sac.* 120, *Ebr.* 94, *Mig.* 224, *Fug.* 73f, 200, *Mut.* 199f, *Som.* ii. 34, 37.

^b Deut. x. 9 alone in *Sac.* 127, *Det.* 62, *Plant.* 69-72, *Fug.* 102. Deut. xxxiii. 9 alone in (*Det.* 67f), *Plant.* 63f, *Ebr.* 72, *Fug.* 88f. Both in *Leg. All.* ii. 51, *Sac.* 119f, 129, *Congr.* 133, *Mut.* 127, *Som.* ii. 272f.

^c *Sac.* 120, *Plant.* 63f, *Mut.* 127, *Som.* ii. 273. Colson translated it 'creation': and certainly it is contrasted with *τὸ ἀγέννητον* in *Plant.* 63f; but is there not all the time a play upon its sense of 'family' or 'kin,' summarizing Deut. xxxiii. 9? Perhaps 'creatures' or 'creature family' would convey both.

^d Philo treats these as three classes with phrases corre-

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and fugitives, orphans to their creature families, God being their husband and father (*Som.* ii. 272f); the mind, perfectly cleansed, which renounces all creatures, knows only One, the Uncreate (*Plant.* 62-64); the mind that slays all that claims kinship with the soul—body, passions, senses—is one with the Levi-mind, who renounced his family, and with the Phinehas mind (*Ebr.* 70-74); it is from this great transcendent soul who holds fast to the Uncreated alone that Moses is descended on both sides, thus having a double link with truth (*Congr.* 131-135); and this portion allotted to the wise is not material possessions, of course, but the greatest spiritual benefits, given by God to those who serve Him, who are thereby very kings (*Plant.* 62-72) ^a

The third key passage is Exod. xxxii,^b the incident of the Golden Calf and its sequel. Moses asked, Who is on the Lord's side? The Levites alone responded, and slaughtered three thousand, not excluding their own kin. Because of this, says Philo, they too are in a sense slayers, which is why their cities are chosen for refuge (*Sac.* 130-134, *cf.* *Fug.* 88-90, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 123f, 128); it

sponding to each, using μέν and δέ. But the vocabulary of the phrases, while appropriate to each, is drawn from terms used of Levites, so I have amalgamated them.

^a With Deut. x. 9 in *Plant.* 63 is linked a similar verse, Num. xviii. 20. In *Mut.* 199f, Deut. xxxiii. 8 is used; and 9b, 10 in *Det.* 62-68. See below.

^b *Sac.* 130, *Ebr.* 66-74, *Fug.* 90-92, *Mos.* ii. 161-172, 272-274, *Spec. Leg.* i. 79, iii. 124-126; and the description of Levi in *Som.* ii. 37 (*cf.* 34) is surely an allusion to this (*cf.* *Spec. Leg.* iii. 128). The very similar story of Phinehas (Num. xxv) is laid under contribution deliberately in *Ebr.* 73f, and accidentally in *Spec. Leg.* iii. 126.

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was a slaughter of false doctrines : when the soul fell the holy thoughts (ἱεροὶ λόγοι), armed with the proofs of knowledge, championed true religion (*Sac.* 130) ; it was also a cutting away of all that is near and dear to the mind : " each his brother, each his nearest " (xxxii. 27) means the body, ' brother ' of the soul, and the senses, ' nearest ' to the uttered word ^a (*Ebr.* 65-71, *Fug.* 88-92). This was an instance where right reason was obeyed rather than custom (*Ebr.* 65, 68). The reward was the priesthood (*Sac.* 134, *Ebr.* 65, *Mos.* ii. 173, 274, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 125-128)

The fourth passage is Num. xxxv. and its parallels : the six cities of refuge taken from among the forty-eight Levitical cities. This was done because the good are a ransom for the bad (*Sac.* 128), because the Levites are themselves virtually exiles, but voluntarily (*Sac.* 129, *Fug.* 88), because they too are fugitives, but in God (*Sac.* 129), because they too are slayers (*Sac.* 130, *Fug.* 90). Yet another reason is suggested by Exod. xxi. 13, from which Philo deduces that involuntary homicide is God's way of punishing : Levites and homicides, therefore, are both serving God, each in their way (*Fug.* 93, *Sac.* 133). The non-allegorical explanation, that Levitical cities

^a ὁ κατὰ προφορὰν (προφορικὸς) λόγος. In *Det.* 63-66, ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος is the Levite's brother minister of Num. viii. 26 ; while the perfect Levite (having reached fifty) guards the teachings of virtue, his brother will have the subordinate duties of teaching those who seek education (παιδεία). Aaron is ὁ προφορικὸς λόγος : " Aaron the Levite shall speak for thee " (Exod. iv. 14) means that only to the ἱερεὶ καὶ σπουδαίῳ λόγῳ is it fitting to reveal the thoughts of perfect mind (Moses), *Det.* 126, 132.

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would afford the protection of the sacred office and territory, is given in *Spec. Leg.* i. 158, iii. 129 & n. In *Sac.* 127 Philo tells why the Levitical cities are "ransomed for ever" (*Lev.* xxv. 32). The fugitive to the city of refuge was a 'suppliant'; the Levites themselves, as we have seen, were exiles from their kin, casting themselves wholly upon God. So the texts from *Deut.* and *Num.* combine to provide *ικέρτης*, often used of the Levites ^a

The Levites are called *φύλακες*, 'guardians.' In *Fug.* 37, *Det.* 62-66, this is based upon *Num.* viii. 24-26. But in the latter it leads up to one of the Deuteronomy texts (xxxiii. 9b, 10), which must be presumed to underlie *Som.* ii. 272f. The discussion of *Num.* viii also raises the matter of symbolic numbers. The Levite begins his ministry at twenty-five, retires to "guard" at fifty; the latter is the number of release from toil, the former the half-way stage of exercise and practice (*Det.* 63-66). Elsewhere Philo discusses Levi as ransom for the tenth (*Congr.* 98); and the Levites contribute tenths to make a hundred, the number of perfection (*Mut.* 2, 191; cf. *Spec. Leg.* 157)

Philo's only etymology of Levi is in *Plant.* 64: it means *αὐτός μοι*, 'He (is precious) to me'

The Levites are the consecrated tribe,^b to whom belongs the active ministry and service of God (*Sac.* 120, 127, *Som.* ii. 34, 272f); they represent the mind that has been perfectly cleansed (*Plant.*

^a *Sac.* 119, 129, *Det.* 62, *Plant.* 63, *Ebr.* 94, *Quis Her.* 124.

^b ἡ ἱερωμένη φυλή or cognate phrases, *Sac.* 128f, *Det.* 62, *Quis Her.* 124, *Mos.* ii. 186, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 120f, iii. 123, 129.

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64), perfect virtue (*Sac.* 120, *Mos.* ii. 181, *cf.* *Plant.* 70f). They are the wise, contrasted with the worthless fool (*Sac.* 121, 126, *Plant.* 69-72); they are the representatives of reason^a; with them is truth (*Congr.* 132, *Ebr.* 70; and *cf.* *Mos.* i. 177). They are guardians of the oracles and covenants of God, the most excellent exponents of his laws (*Deut.* xxxiii. 9f, *Det.* 68)

- I. *Leg. All.* i. 81, ii. 51, II. *Sac.* 118-135 (for 128-133, *cf.* *Fug.* 88-93), *Det.* 62-68, (126), 132, 135, III. *Plant.* 62-72, *Ebr.* 65-74, 94, IV. *Mig.* 224, *Quis Her.* 124 & n, *Congr.* 98, 131f & n, 133 & n & [N], 134, 135n, V. *Fug.* 37, 73f, 88-93 (*cf.* *Sac.* 128-133), 102, *Mut.* 2, 127 & n, 191, 199f, *Som.* ii. 34, 37, 272f, VI. *Mos.* i. 316, ii. 159-186, 272-274, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 79 & n & [N], 121n, 156-161, ii. 120f, iii. 123-128, 129n, 130, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 190n, *Praem.* 54n, 74, 75n

Leviticus: III. *Plant.* 26, *cf.* V. *Fug.* 170 & n

Libya: III. *Quod Deus* 174, V. *Som.* ii. 54, IX. *Aet.* 141, *Flacc.* 43, 45, 152, X. *Leg.* 283

Lot: the name means 'inclination' or 'leaning' (*ἀπόκλινσις*^b); for the mind 'inclines,' sometimes turning away from what is good, sometimes from what is bad (*Mig.* 148). In his description of Lot's character in *Abr.* 212 Philo no doubt had this derivation in mind; but he would also be thinking of the story of Abraham's separation from Lot (*Gen.* xiii. 1-11, esp. v. 9), which he proceeds to tell (212-216) and to allegorize (217-

^a *λέγος*, *Sac.* 119; *ὁρθὸς λόγος*, *Ebr.* 68, *Congr.* 98; *λογικός*, *Fug.* 90-92.

^b So *Mig.* 148. *ἀποκλίνω* in *Som.* i. 86, 246, *κλίνω* in *Post.* 175, *Mig.* 13, 175. *Cf.* *Abr.* 212.

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224), making Lot stand for the philosophy that pursues externals. In *Mig.* 13 Lot is the soul that inclines to sense-perception, which Abraham thrusts away. He had begun by inclining in a good direction, for he set out with the man of wisdom (xii. 4); but he soon proved a hindrance rather than a help when he inclined back to lack of learning (*ἀμαθία*), and Abraham had to protect himself by separation (*ib.* 148-150 & [N]). Like his wife (*Fug.* 121f), he was capable of growing up straight and unswerving, but he bent aside his soul (*Mig.* 175). But it was an *ἀπόκλισις* to virtue when he left Sodom (xix. 23f, *Som.* i. 85f & n, 246). His capture by the four kings (Gen. xiv. 12) refers to the soul's enemies (the four passions, *Mig.* 150 & [N]); the incident and its sequel is described in *Abr.* 225-235

Lot's wife is affected with the same *ἀπόκλισις*: in *Som.* i. 246-248 we have an allusion to Lot's inclination away from virtue (in entering Sodom), aggravated by sense-perception, so that the soul becomes a monument of its own disaster. In a similar passage (*Fug.* 121f), her looking back is the soul's lazy refusal to exercise its power of reason, having no desire to seek and find, so that the soul becomes lifeless. This speaks of the soul's capability for better things; but in *Leg. All.* iii. 213 we are told God did not allow repentance. The right name for Lot's wife is 'custom'; her nature is hostile to truth, and if we take her with us, she lags behind and gazes round at the old familiar objects and remains among them like a lifeless monument (*Ebr.* 164)

This was the mother of Lot's daughters, Delibera-

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tion and Assent ; Lot, their father, was incapable of rearing any male or perfect growth within his soul. He is the man not only lacking knowledge but confident that he has got it—which is even worse than sheer ignorance. With his two daughters the mind discusses and assents readily to every pleasurable suggestion. This could only happen when the mind is intoxicated (*Ebr.* 162-166). This initiates a long discussion by Philo on the unreliability of the mind : it cannot by deliberation find out the truth nor give a right assent or judgement (166-205 ; see III. *Ebr.* Introd. pp. 314-316). The same passage (xix. 30-38) is allegorized in *Post.* 175-177, where Philo is treating "God raised up to me . . ." (*Gen.* iv. 25). With that attitude is to be contrasted that of Lot's daughters (with the same names) ; their desire to have children by mind is the assertion that mind can replace God (contrast "God raised up ") and be the author of everything—a truly sottish idea, created by the strong drink of folly

The offspring from this unpromising union were Moab and Ammon (*q.v.*). Their people are to be excluded from the congregation of the Lord (*Deut.* xxiii. 2), for they suppose that sense-perception and mind can procreate all things (*Post.* 177)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 213, II. *Post.* 175-177, III. *Ebr.* 162-205 (esp. 162-170, 203-205), IV. *Mig.* 13, 148-150 & [N], 175, V. *Fug.* 121f, *Som.* i. 85f & n, 246-248, VI. *Gen.* Introd. p. xv n, *Abr.* 212-235, *Mos.* ii. 57f, IX. *Prov.* 2. 8[N]

Lucanian : IX. *Aet.* 12

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Lyaeus : **X. Leg.** 96

Lycurgus : **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 47, 114. *Cf.* **VI. Mos.**
ii. 19, **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 22, **VIII. ib.** iv. 102

Lydia : **VI. Jos.** 133

Lynceus : **IX. Prov.** 2. 7

Lysimachus : **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 127-130

Macedonians, Macedonia : **II. Cher.** 63, *Gig.* 7 & [N]
(-ia), **III. Quod Deus** 173f (both), *Plant.* 12 (-ia),
VI. Jos. 135, **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 94, 115, **X. Leg.**
281 (-ia)

Machir : **IV. Congr.** 39-43. Machir means 'the father's,' and his parentage symbolizes the inferiority of reminiscence and being reminded to memory and remembering

Machpelah : Abraham's burial place in Hebron, called in the **LXX** 'the double cave' (*Gen.* xxiii). In it the patriarchs and their wives were buried in pairs, so that it is a treasure house of memories (*μνημαί*, probably playing on *μνημεῖον* in xxiii. 6 ; see *Som.* ii. 26n), memories of knowledge and wisdom (**II. Post.** 62 & n). Along with other 'doubles,' it illustrates that the man of worth both contemplates the created universe and thinks upon the Father who brought it into being. The cave is 'the pair of memories' (**V. Som.** ii. 26 & n)

Macro : **IX. Flacc.** 11-16, 22, **X. Leg.** 32-64, 69f, 75

Maecenas : **X. Leg.** 351

Maenads : **III. Plant.** 148

Maenoles : **III. Plant.** 148

Magi : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 100 & n & [N], **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 74 & n

Magius Maximus : **IX. Flacc.** 74

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Mahujael (Maiel): the worthlessness of Cain and his creed is continued in his descendants, Enoch, Gaidad, Maiel, Methuselah, Lamech. The flock of irrational faculties which is Gaidad had for son Maiel, 'away from the life of God,' who also leads an irrational life (II. *Post.* 69). He also contributes to Lamech's bad character, whose grandfather he was; for Mahujael (E.V.; LXX, Maiel) represents that death of soul which is due to passion (*ib.* 74f)

Maiden, The: see Athena

Maltese Dogs: VIII. *Praem.* 89 & [N]

Mamre: the portion awarded to Aunan and Eshcol by Abraham (Gen. xiv. 24), symbolizing the award to natural ability and vision, is awarded the contemplative life; for Mamre means 'from seeing' (IV. *Mig.* 164 & n, 165)

Manasseh: there are many whose natural gifts differ, as their names show. Such were Ephraim and Manasseh. In blessing them their grandfather Jacob gave precedence to the younger (Gen. xlviii. 19); that is because memory (Ephraim) is better than recollection (Manasseh), for the latter is always preceded by forgetfulness. It is older than memory, for in the first stages of education we begin with recollection of what we forget, then advance to remembering. Manasseh is the type of recollection (*ἀνάμνησις*, opposed to *μνήμη*) because his name means 'out of forgetfulness' (*Leg. All.* iii. 90-93, *Sob.* 27-29, *cf. Mig.* 205). To Manasseh's tribe belong Zelophehad's five daughters, showing five is the number of the senses (*Mig.* 205). The contrast between memory and recollection is also made in *Congr.*

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39-43. A discussion on legitimate wives and concubines leads Philo to mention Manasseh's marriage to a Syrian concubine (Gen. xlv. 20, LXX) who bore to him Machir. "Jacob said, Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me" (xlviii. 5). Reuben is natural excellence, Simeon learning; with the relation between these two corresponds that between Ephraim and Manasseh (*Mut.* 97-102). This passage has the same remarks about forgetfulness, memory, recollection

Marah : on the journey from Passion the pilgrim soul is continually tempted by pleasures to return, and Marah marks the bitterness that the soul's toil comes to have. But the Saviour sweetened the waters, producing love of labour (*II. Post.* 156f, *IV. Congr.* 164-166). The passage, *Exod.* xv. 23-25, ends ". . . and the water was sweetened. There he laid down for him ordinances and judgments . . ."—the statutes were given for chastening, and therefore Marah was appropriate—" . . . and there he tried him,"—so that the bitterness is also that of trial in the soul's toil (*IV. Congr.* 163f)

Marea : *IX. Flacc.* 45

Mareotic Lake : *IX. Vit. Cont.* 22

Marin : *IX. Flacc.* 39 & n

Mars : *IV. Quis Her.* 224

Masek : *IV. Quis Her.* 2, 39-42, 51-54, 61. 'From a kiss,' and kissing is not the same as loving, but represents the senses; she (so LXX) is the mistress of the multitude, the servant of the good, who do not love her, only greet her with a kiss. The offspring of this blood-life is Damascus Eliezer

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Melchizedek : God made him both ' king ' of ' peace ' (Salem) and priest, without previous qualification. He was worthy of it, for he was a ' righteous ' king, no despot. Let him offer to the soul food full of joy and gladness and induce that divine intoxication which is sobriety itself. For he is a priest (Gen. xiv. 18), that is reason, having his portion in God ^a (*Leg. All.* iii. 79-82). " He gave him a tenth of all " (xiv. 20) is an example of that principle seen in all tithes, the offering of first-fruits to God from all the faculties of our reason ; and it illustrates that ten is the perfect number (*Congr.* 98f). Here Melchizedek's priesthood is *αὐτομαθὴς καὶ αὐτοδίδακτος*. The story is told in *Abr.* 235. Add I. Gen. Introd. p. xx & n

Memphis : VI. *Mos.* i. 118

Mercury : II. *Cher.* 22, IV. *Quis Her.* 224

Mesopotamia : II. *Post.* 76, IV. *Conf.* 65f, *Congr.* 70, V. *Fug.* 48f, VI. *Abr.* 188, *Mos.* i. 264, 278, VIII. *Virt.* 223n. Isaac advised Jacob to flee into Mesopotamia (Gen. xxviii. 2) ; this means the Practiser is to enter the midst of the torrent of life's river, not overwhelmed by it, but beating back the current of affairs (*Fug.* 48f). For Mesopotamia is ' Mid-river-land ' (*Conf.* 66). It is the home of Balaam, whose understanding is submerged in the midmost depths of a river (*ib.*)

Methuselah : II. *Post.* 40f, 44f, 73f. His name means ' a sending forth of death.' He is a descendant both of Seth and of Cain, and his name can be interpreted in two ways to fit both the good and the bad strain. In close affinity with Seth he is the good man from whom death is dismissed, he

^a Deut. x. 9, of Levi. Levi also represents reason.

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has reaped true life. But as a member of Cain's house he is at the receiving end of ἐξαποστολή θανάτου, which means he is ever dying to the life of virtue (41, 44f). With this fits his relationship to soul-death and lowness ; for he is son of Mahujael and father of Lamech (73f)

Midas : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 136

Midian, Midianites : Midian is 'from judgement,' and Philo associates with it κρίσις, 'judgement' or 'sifting.' Moses settles in Midian (Exod. ii. 15), that is, in the examination (κρίσις) of the things of nature (*Leg. All.* iii. 12f). But ἐκ κρίσεως can be taken in two senses : it can mean 'out-sifting,' 'elimination' ; or it can mean 'from (belonging to) judgement,' 'judiciary' (*Mut.* 106 & n, 110). The Midianites in the story of Phinehas (*Num.* xxv) come under the first heading ; their religion was that of Baal-Peor, drowning the ruling mind beneath bodily passions, and so they had to be eliminated. Phinehas killed the Midianitish woman ; and the Israelites defeated the Midianites (*Num.* xxxi). But the other, the good sense, applies to Raguel, "priest of Midian" (*Mut.* 106-109, *Leg. All.* iii. 242) (by implication, the bad sense perhaps applies to him in his character of Jethro), whose seven daughter-faculties bring objects to the mind, their judge and king. Philo is discussing the double name, Jethro-Raguel (*Mut.* 103-114). In *Conf.* 55 Midian is called 'the nurse of things bodily' ; if the reading is right, Midian must have this connotation from Baal-Peor, as in *Mut.* 106f. But see [N]. In *Jos.* 15ff the Midianite merchants of Gen. xxxvii are

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mentioned, but not named. In *Mos.* i. 295ff and *Virt.* 34ff Philo narrates the two incidents from Numbers ; but only in *Virt.* 34 are the Midianites named. See [N]

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 12f, 242, III. *Agr.* 43, IV. *Conf.* 55 & [N], 57n, V. *Mut.* 103-114, VI. *Jos.* 15, 27, 36, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xiii n, *Virt.* 22n, 34ff & [N]

Milcah : wife of Nahor. Her name means ' queen ' ; Nahor stayed in Chaldaea, the home of astrology, queen of sciences, and this Milcah symbolizes. It is second best to the true vision of Israel, but better than the Sceptic philosophy, represented by Nahor's concubine (IV. *Congr.* 43-53)

Milky Way : IX. *Prov.* 2. 51

Milo : IX. *Prov.* 2. 7

Miltiades : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 132

Minos : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43

Minotaur : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43

Miriam : Miriam criticized Moses for marrying an Ethiopian woman, and was punished (I. *Leg. All.* i. 76). This was sense-perception presuming to find fault with the man of vision (ii. 66f & [N], iii. 103). But her leading the song of the women at the Red Sea in company with Moses is good : it is sense-perception made pure and clean leading Virtue's women along with perfect mind and the men of vision (III. *Agr.* 80f). There is a non-allegorical narrative of this in VI. *Mos.* i. 180, ii. 256, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 87

The unnamed sister who witnessed the finding of the infant Moses (Exod. ii) is referred to in VI. *Mos.* i. 12, 16f, and in V. *Som.* ii. 142 she is given the allegorical name of ' Hope ' ; for she

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“spied out from a distance” (ii. 4), looking to the consummation of his life

Mishaël : see *s.v.* Nadab

Mnemosyne : III. *Plant.* 129 & [N]

Moab, Moabites : Ammonites and Moabites were the descendants of the incestuous union of Lot's daughters with their father, and for this they were excluded from the Israelite congregation (Deut. xxiii. 2). They suppose that sense-perception and mind procreate all things (II. *Post.* 177, I. *Leg. All.* iii. 81, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 327[N], 333 & n-336). Num. xxi. 30, “And the women kindled yet further a fire in Moab,” indicates a conflagration of the mind occasioned by the senses ; for Moab means ‘out of a father,’ and our father is the mind (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 225, 231, IV. *Mig.* 99f). The “whoredom with the daughters of Moab” of Num. xxv. 1 stands for the enervating intercourse with mind's daughters, the senses (V. *Som.* i. 89, VIII. *Virt.* 34[N])

Moon, The : IV. *Quis Her.* 224

Morning Star, The : II. *Cher.* 22

Moses^a : The narrative of Moses' infancy is given in *Mos.* i. 5-17. He was by race a Chaldaean (*ib.* 5 ; ‘Hebrew,’ 15), the seventh from Abraham, a Levite (7, *cf. Post.* 173f) by both his parents, giving him a double link with truth (*Congr.* 132f & nn & [N]). He was, we read, “a proper

^a In this analysis only a few references are made to *Mos.* i and ii. In the final index of passages the many quotations from or allusions to the Pentateuch, given in the form ‘Moses says’ or ‘he says,’ are not included ; only those passages are listed which seem to contribute to the character, career, or significance of Moses himself. It has been hard to be consistent ; and I have usually ignored Deuteronomy.

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child " (9) : this means he was purest mind (*Congr.* 131f), the Stoic character (*Conf.* 106 & n & [N]), a world-citizen (*ib.*).^a His royal education included the learning of Greece and Assyria and Egypt (*Mos.* i. 21-24) ; and he became heir to Pharaoh (32)

Moses " smote the Egyptian and hid him in the sand " (Exod. ii. 11-14, *Mos.* 1. 34-44)—the Egyptian being the bad man who sinks down into his own mind (*Leg. All.* iii. 37-39). This and the subsequent incident represent Moses' attempt to overthrow the domination of the body in two attacks directed against Epicureanism and the Peripatetics (*Fug.* 147 & n, 148). Pharaoh sought his life (a seeking that had no finding, *Fug.* 147), and Moses fled to Midian (*Mos.* i. 45-49) ; or rather, he withdrew from the leader of the passions (*cf. Conf.* 82) to the place of sifting in order to inquire of God (*Leg. All.* iii. 11-14). Midian (Arabia, *Mos.* i. 47) here signifies the judicial type (*Mut.* 110f). At the well the virtue-loving mind delivers the unreasoning faculties from mind's enemies (Exod. ii. 15-22, *Mut.* 110-114). Moses was *given* Zipporah to wife (Exod. ii. 21, *Post.* 77f). Really she was not a woman but a virtue ; for Zipporah, ' bird,' signifies one speeding up to heaven and contemplating divine things (*Cher.* 40-42, 47) ; she is the winged and inspired prophetic nature (*Mut.* 120), perhaps Knowledge or Reason (*Post.* 78). Moses became shepherd to his father-in-law (Exod. iii. 1, *Mos.* i. 60, 63) : that is, Moses' right reason rules the thoughts of the Jethro mind (*Sac.* 50, *Agr.* 43).

^a By a pun on *ἀστέριος*.

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At the Burning Bush (*Mos.* i. 65-70) the prophet was seeking nature's causes; he was spared from a futile search by the divine warning ("Draw not nigh hither," *Exod.* iii. 5), and instead he inquired into the nature of the Creator (*Fug.* 161-164). He did not see God Himself (*Fug.* 141, *Mut.* 134), but an angel, the symbol of God's providence (*Mos.* i. 66, *cf.* *Som.* i. 231f). God promised His presence to Moses (*Mos.* i. 70-76), the secret of successful achievement (*Fug.* 140). He was given three signs (*Mos.* i. 76-82): God asks the wise man what there is in the active life of his soul, and he answers Schooling, giving it the name of a rod; when cast away it becomes the serpent Pleasure, which must be seized and disciplined (*Leg. All.* ii. 87-93). Moses protested that he was not eloquent (*Exod.* iv. 10): he sets no value upon probabilities and plausibilities, but follows after truth in its purity (*Sac.* 12f & [NN], *Det.* 38, *Mig.* 76f); he was tongue-tied with joy, and speech was replaced with fluent thoughts (*Quis Her.* 4). He was made "a god to Pharaoh" (*Exod.* vii. 1): the mind is god of the unreasoning part (*Leg. All.* i. 40, *cf.* *Mig.* 84); Moses enjoyed a unique supremacy over the body and the mind which rules it (*Sac.* 9f & [N]); the wise is god to the foolish (*Mut.* 125, 128f & n, *Det.* 161f)—not in reality, only in men's imagination (*Det.* 161f, *cf.* *Quod Omn. Prob.* 43 & n, 44). Moses especially earned this title because of his beneficence (*Mut.* 128f). See also *Som.* ii. 189, *Mos.* i. 158

Philo divides the Ten Plagues (*Mos.* i. 90-146) into those due to the agency of Aaron (96-112) and

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of Moses (113-125), and those of independent causation

After the Exodus and the Passage of the Red Sea, the Song of Moses (Exod. xv. 1) is the hymn of victory over the passions sung by the army of guardian virtues led by mind in its perfection (*Agr.* 80-83 & [N], *cf.* *Leg. All.* ii. 102, *Ebr.* 111, *Sob.* 13, *Mos.* i. 180). In the battle against Amalek, Moses held up his hands and Israel prevailed; but his hands were heavy (Exod. xvii. 11): when the mind lifts itself up away from mortal things the seeing soul is strengthened against passion (*Leg. All.* iii. 186); the wise man's doings are weighty, immovable, upheld by the Word and Truth (*ib.* 45, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 29). At Sinai Moses "drew near unto the thick darkness where God was" (Exod. xx. 21): that is, in his eager search for God he entered into immaterial conceptions, seeking to reach the unattainable, the transcendent God (*Post.* 14f; *cf.* *Mut.* 7 & [N]); the people said, "Speak thou with us" (xx. 19): this illustrates the fact that God tempers His communications, for none could endure His perfection (*Post.* 143f, *cf.* *Som.* i. 143), and that wise men take God for their guide and teacher, but the less perfect take the wise man (*Quis Her.* 19). Moses led his people up the mountain to the vision of the Existent (xxiv. 10, *Conf.* 95-97). His division of the sacrificial blood (xxiv. 6) represents the twofold nature of wisdom, divine and human (*Quis Her.* 182 & [N]-185). During his forty days and nights in the mount he fasted, entranced by the perfect music of the spheres (*Som.* i. 36). The incident of the

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Golden Calf reveals Joshua and Moses as the feeling and the reasoning elements in man (*Ebr.* 96-104, 121-124); fired by his vision of the beautiful, Moses burned the pleasures of the body (*Post.* 158-165)

He pitched the tabernacle outside the camp (xxxiii. 7): this is an instance of that nakedness of soul which is escape from the body and its passions to dwell in virtue (*Leg. All.* ii. 54f, *Gig.* 54, *Det.* 159f); the tent is wisdom, in which the wise man tabernacles, establishing it outside the body because the good man escapes from himself and returns to the apprehension of the One (*Leg. All.* iii. 46-48, cf. *Ebr.* 99), a pilgrim travelling from war to peace, from mortality to the divine life of reasonable and happy souls (*Ebr.* 100). The Lord "spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend" (xxxiii. 11; see Scripture Index), and Moses asked that he might know Him (xxxiii. 13): the more perfect mind gets direct apprehension of the First Cause (*Leg. All.* iii. 100-103); he was eager to replace uncertainty with assured confidence (*Post.* 13-16). He required that God's presence should go with him (xxxiii. 15), for he knew his quest was unattainable except by revelation (*Mut.* 8, cf. *Spec. Leg.* i. 41f); the Divine presence and guidance are necessary for the way to the Existent (*Mig.* 170-172, cf. *Fug.* 140 on *Exod.* iii. 11). Not even Moses was allowed to see God: he was permitted to see only what follows behind Him, His attendant powers (xxxiii. 23, *Post.* 169, cf. *Fug.* 164f, *Mut.* 8-10) or their manifestation in the sensible world (*Spec. Leg.* i. 43n,

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47-53 ^a). Deut. v. 31 is also a favourite text with Philo, "Stand thou here with me": it shows Moses to have been higher than the trio Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, for he was trained to soar above species and genus and was stationed beside God Himself (*Sac.* 8 & n); it shows the steadfastness of the man of worth (contrasted with Adam and Cain), who shares the very nature of God, which is repose (*Post.* 28, *cf.* *Gig.* 49); and that the perfect man seeks for quietude (*Quod Deus* 23-26)

Moses is pre-eminently, of course, the law-giver.^b Philo regards Genesis as but the exordium to the laws (*Op.* 2f), and only alludes to the subsequent history of Israel (*Praem.* 4 & n & [N]). So great was Israel's veneration for Moses that whatever he approved was law for them (*Hyp.* 6. 8f). The Greeks in their Attic law copied Moses in one particular at least (*Spec. Leg.* iv. 61, *cf.* *Aet.* 147ff & [N]). The laws reveal the qualities of the legislator (*e.g.* his humanity, *Virt.* 80f). Philo regularly quotes the Pentateuch in the form 'Moses says' or 'he says,' not only from the narrative (*e.g.* *Cher.* 45, 49, 124, *Det.* 86, *Post.* 133), but even when repeating the words attributed to God Himself (*Conf.* 192 & n); and at times we are given the impression that Moses shaped the details of his narrative to suit the

^a In spite of Colson's note at *Spec. Leg.* i. 41, I think there is a difference between that passage, in which Philo interprets 'my glory' as the Powers, and the other three passages, where it is God Himself. This affects the interpretation of τὰ ὀπίσω μου.

^b See below, and p. 386, note a.

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symbolical lessons he wishes to give (*e.g.* *Sob.* 26f). Philo defends the repetitions (*Congr.* 73), anthropomorphisms (*Quod Deus* 57-69), and seemingly bold statements of Moses (*Plant.* 62), and does not allow that such a passage as *Gen.* vi is mythical (*Gig.* 6, 58).^a For a comparison between the Law and the Prophets see *Cher.* 49 & [N]. Those who follow the great law-giver's teaching are often called his pupils.^b In the law we find the philosophy of Moses, which is sometimes held to have anticipated that of later Greek philosophers, and sometimes is contrasted with their theories (*e.g.* *Op.* 8, 12, 131, *Leg. All.* ii. 14ff, *Quis Her.* 213f, 227f & [N], *Mos.* ii. 12, *Aet.* 19). The Mosaic system is called a polity (*πολιτεία* *Gig.* 59 & [N], *Quis Her.* 169 & [N], *Spec. Leg.* iii. 51, iv. 55, 100, *Praem.* 4, *cf.* *Hyp.* 6, 10)

Comparisons and contrasts are made between Moses and other figures. Thus, like Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, he is said to have married no woman but to have been wedded to a virtue (*Cher.* 40-47, *cf.* *Leg. All.* ii. 67; contrast *Post.* 77); yet he excels them in being called to stand beside God Himself (*Conf.* 192 & n). A similar sort of comparison is made between Moses and Noah in *Quod Deus* 109f. The consistency of

^a On the other hand, he tells us not to take some things literally, *e.g.* in *Leg. All.* ii. 19, *cf.* *Op.* 156f.

^b γνῶριμοι, *Det.* 86, *Post.* 12, *Conf.* 39, *Quis Her.* 81, *Spec. Leg.* i. 59, 345, *Vit. Cont.* 63, *Hyp.* 11. 1; θιασῶται, *Quod Deus* 120, *Plant.* 39; ἐταῖροι, *Conf.* 62; φοιτηταί, *Spec. Leg.* i. 345, ii. 256. In *Spec. Leg.* i. 59 Moses is said to stamp truth upon his disciples. In *Som.* ii. 1 Philo says that, as Moses learned when he did not know, he may teach us too.

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Moses is contrasted with the character of his father-in-law Jethro in *Gig.* 50f; Jethro's presumption in offering advice to Moses is criticized in *Ebr.* 36-45, *Mut.* 103f; but as Raguel he is held to have joined the people of God in admiration for their leader Moses (*Mut.* 105). Miriam also showed presumption towards Moses (*Leg. All.* ii. 66f, *cf.* iii. 103, i. 76). Joshua reacted to the passionate clamour from the camp, but Moses could not be reached with it, for he was in the presence of God (*Ebr.* 96-103 & [NN]); however, Joshua was a worthy pupil and successor to Moses (*Virt.* 51ff). With Bezaleel also there is a contrast: he was instructed by Moses, but Moses was instructed by God (*Leg. All.* iii. 102f); he made the shadows of the tabernacle, Moses made the archetypes (*ib.*, and *Plant.* 23, 26f). Most of all, Philo compares and contrasts Moses with Aaron, *q.v.*

Philo makes comparatively little use of Moses as a symbolical figure. He is sometimes the type of the wise man (see below, and p. 387, note *f*); he stands for the mind (*e.g. Leg. All.* i. 40) at its purest (*Mut.* 208, *cf. Mos.* ii. 40) or some form of excellence

"The chief of the prophets proves to have many names," says Philo in *Mut.* 125. He derives 'Moses' from Hebrew to mean 'handling' (*ib.* 126 & n), or from Egyptian to mean 'water' (*Mos.* i. 17). Philo's most common title for Moses is 'the law-giver,'^a with which must be

^a θεσμοφύλαξ *Sac.* 50; θεσμοθέτης, *Mig.* 23; ὁ τοὺς νόμους προφητεύσας *Spec. Leg.* ii. 104. Otherwise νομοθέτης, νομοθεσία, κτλ.: *Leg. All.* ii. 14, iii. 145, *Cher.* 40, 53, *Sac.* 16, 72,

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linked other similar expressions.^a He is also the 'prophet'^b and 'revealer,'^c chief priest,^d king,^e the wise man,^f perfect,^g most holy of men,^h be-

83, 136, *Det.* 62, 105, 115, 135, 147, 171, *Post.* 22, 25, 47, 57, 78, 128, 133, 166, *Gig.* 19, 32, 58, 66, *Quod Deus* 21, 23, 52, 60, 67, 125, *Agr.* 2, 41, 84, 86, 144, *Plant.* 66, 141, *Ebr.* 1, 13, 47, 109, *Sob.* 1, 7, *Conf.* 5, 23, 107, 135, 142, 191, *Mig.* 113, *Quis Her.* 21, 55, 163, 292, *Congr.* 120, 132, *Fug.* 120, 173, 188, 194, *Som.* i. 39, 93, 112, 121, ii. 4, *Mos.* i. 1, 7-16, 45-51, 66, 187, 190, 292, *Decal.* 2-17, *Spec. Leg.* i. 15, 234, 319, iii. 42, 102, 151, 167, iv. 39, 143, *Virt.* 22n, 80, 133, 201, *Praem.* 53, 55, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 29, 43, 68, *Aet.* 19, *Hyp.* 6. 8, 7. 11, 11. 1. In *Mos.* ii. 48 God is the true lawgiver.

^a *E.g.* 'keeper and guardian of the mysteries of the Existent One' (*Plant.* 26).

^b προφήτης, προφητεία, κτλ., *Leg. All.* ii. 1, iii. 43, 173, *Sac.* 130, *Gig.* 49, 56, *Mig.* 15, 151, *Quis Her.* 4, 262, *Congr.* 132, 170, *Fug.* 140, 147, *Mut.* 11, 103, 125f, *Som.* ii. 189, 277, *Mos.* i. 57, 156, ii. 2-7, 69, 187-191, 209, 213, 229, 246, 250, 253, 257f, 265, 269, 275, 280, 284, 291f, *Decal.* 18f, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 104, 256, iii. 125, *Virt.* 51, *Praem.* 1, 53, 55, *Vit. Cont.* 64, 87; θεολόγος, *Praem.* 53; ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος, *Quis Her.* 207, cf. 259; ἄνθρωπος θεοῦ, *Det.* 162, *Mut.* 25, 125, 128.

^c ἱεροφάντης, *Leg. All.* iii. 150, 173, *Sac.* 94, *Post.* 16, 164, 173, *Mig.* 14, *Som.* ii. 3, 29, 109, *Decal.* 18, *Spec. Leg.* i. 41, *Virt.* 75, 174; θεοπρόπος, *Ebr.* 85, *Conf.* 29, *Fug.* 138; θεοφράδμων, *Quis Her.* 30, *Mut.* 96, *Mos.* ii. 269; ἑρμηνεύς, ἑρμηνεία, κτλ., *Praem.* 55, *Quis Her.* 213 & n, *Mut.* 126, *Mos.* i. 1, *Spec. Leg.* iii. 6, *Post.* 1; μάρτυς, μαρτυρέω, *Det.* 138, cf. *Post.* 57, *Mig.* 3, *Congr.* 160, *Mut.* 258, *Som.* i. 231, ii. 222, *Abr.* 262 (+ θεοπίζω); ἐπίσκοπος, *Quis Her.* 30.

^d *Sac.* 130, *Quis Her.* 182, *Mos.* i. 334, ii. 2-7, 66-71, 75, cf. 153-158, 187n, 275, 292, *Praem.* 53, 56, cf. *Θεραπευτὴς θεοῦ*, *Sac.* 13, *Det.* 160.

^e In *Mos.* ii. 3ff (see also *Mos.* i and ii, *Introd.* p. 274) and *Praem.* 53-56 Philo treats of Moses as king, legislator, prophet, and high-priest. Moses is also called 'guardian' and 'leader' of the nation (*Virt.* 42, *Praem.* 77).

^f Moses is or symbolizes ὁ σοφός (πάνσοφος) κτλ., in *Leg. All.* ii. 87, 93, iii. 45, 131, 140f, 144, 147, *Cher.* 41, *Sac.* 9, *Det.* 126, 162, *Post.* 18, 28, 169, 173, *Gig.* 27, 47f, 50, 56, *Quod*

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loved of God ^a and His friend,^b truly great.^c He is a lover of God,^d and of virtue ^e and of humanity,^f given to piety ^g and continence (*Mos.* i. 25-31), a man of spiritual vision,^h the healer of the soul's diseases (*Quod Deus* 67), the nursing father of all things good (*Mig.* 23f); indeed he is himself worthy and noble,ⁱ a true world-citi-

Deus 23-26, cf. 110, *Agr.* 20, 43, *Plant.* 27, *Ebr.* 1, 37, 100, *Sob.* 20, *Conf.* 1, 30, 192 & n, *Mig.* 45f, 76, 113, 201, *Quis Her.* 19, 21, 55, 301, *Congr.* 132, *Fug.* i. 57, 165, *Mut.* 19, 104, 128, *Som.* ii. 229, 237, 278, *Abr.* 13, *Mos.* i. 4, ii. 67, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 194, iv. 69, 143, 157, 175, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 29, 68. Other terms are: φιλομαθής, *Fug.* 161; αὐτομαθής, *Leg. All.* iii. 135, *Post.* 77f, cf. *Mos.* i. 21f, ἐπιστήμη, *Agr.* 2.

^a τέλειος, *Leg. All.* ii. 91, iii. 100, 131, 134f, 140, 144, 147, *Sac.* 9f, *Det.* 132, *Quod Deus* 23, *Agr.* 80, *Plant.* 94, *Ebr.* 103, *Mut.* 128, *Som.* ii. 234, *Mos.* i. 1; cf. *Gig.* 24-26.

^b ιερώτατος, *Leg. All.* iii. 185, *Cher.* 45, *Det.* 135, *Gig.* 67, *Quod Deus* 6, 140, *Agr.* 85, *Plant.* 86, 168, *Mig.* 131, *Quis Her.* 21, *Congr.* 89, *Mut.* 30, 187, *Som.* i. 121, *Abr.* 181, *Spec. Leg.* i. 15, 59, iii. 24, iv. 95, *Virt.* 175.

^c θεόφιλος, θεοφιλής, *Op.* 5, *Leg. All.* i. 76, ii. 79, 88, 90, iii. 130, *Cher.* 49, *Sac.* 77, *Det.* 13, *Plant.* 62, *Conf.* 95, *Mig.* 67, *Mos.* ii. 67, 163, *Spec. Leg.* i. 41, iv. 175, *Virt.* 77, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 44.

^d φίλος θεοῦ, based on Exod. xxxiii. 11: *Sac.* 130, *Ebr.* 94, *Mig.* 45, *Quis Her.* 21, *Som.* i. 193f, 231f, *Mos.* i. 156.

^e μέγας, *Op.* 12, *Plant.* 18, *Ebr.* 1, *Sob.* 49, *Mut.* 128, *Mos.* i. 1, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 51.

^f φιλόθεος, *Post.* 15, 21, *Mos.* ii. 67, *Spec. Leg.* i. 42.

^g φιλάρετος, *Op.* 128, *Leg. All.* ii. 90, iii. 130f, 147, *Fug.* 157, *Mut.* 113, *Som.* ii. 29, *Virt.* 175 (+ φιλόκαλος); ἀρετή, *Cher.* 40, *Gig.* 48, *Som.* ii. 230, *Mos.* i. 48, ii. 66.

^h φιλόανθρωπος, *Mos.* ii. 163, cf. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 79ff, 104, *Virt.* 51, 66, 76f, 80, 82ff, 175.

ⁱ εὐσέβεια, *Praem.* 52-56.

^k ὁ βλέπων, *Leg. All.* ii. 93; φιλοθεάμων, *Ebr.* 124; ὀξυδερκής, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 194; ὀξυνωπία, *ib.* iii. 91.

^l σπουδαῖος, *Post.* 28, 169, *Mos.* i. 157; ἀστέιος, a favourite word with Philo, esp. applicable to Moses because it is used

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zen.^a He was finally translated, because God prizes the wise man as the world (*Sac.* 8-10)

In the following index only those passages are cited in which Moses the man is mentioned, or which seem in some way to be significant ; thus the repeated quotations from the Pentateuch given as ' Moses says ' are not included. Nor are the words of Moses in Deuteronomy usually included

- I. Gen. Introd. pp. xiii, xvii n, *Op.* 1-3, 8, 12, 128, 131, *Leg. All.* i. 40, 60[N], 76, ii. 14f, 54, 66f, 78-81, 87-93, 102-104, iii. 11-14, 37f, 43-48, 100-103, 128-147(-159), 173, 186, 197, 204, 228, II. *Cher.* 40-42, 47, 49 & [N], 56 & [N], 114[N], 130, *Sac.* 8-10, 9 & [N], 12 & [N], 13, 50f, 69, 77, 130, *Det.* 16 & [N], 38-40, 86, 126-138, 160 & [N]-162, 177, *Post.* 1, 12-16, 21, 28-31, 67f, 77f, 136f, 143f, 169, 173f, *Gig.* 24-31, 47-59 & nn & [NN], III. *Quod Deus* 23-26, 67, 109f, *Agr.* 2, 43-49, 80f & [N], 94-101, *Plant.* 26f, 46-58, 62, *Ebr.* 36-45, 67, 79, 96-103 & [NN], 111-113, 124, *Sob.* 19f, IV. *Conf.* 29-36, 82, 95-97, 106 & n & [N], 141[N], *Mig.* 14f, 23f, 44-46, 76-85, 122 & n, 168, 169 & n-172, *Quis Her.* 3f, 16-21, 44, 59f, 169 & [N], 182 & [N], 205f, 213f, 228 & [N], 255, 262, *Congr.* 57, 110, 131-133 & [N], V. *Fug.* 140f, 147 & n, 148, 157-165, *Mut.* 7 & [N]-11, 19-21, 25f & n, 103-105 & nn, 113-120, 125-129 & nn, 134, 168, 207-209, *Som.* i. 36, 71, 164f, 188[N], 193f, 206, 231f, ii. 109, 142, 170, 189 & n, 227-234, 237, 277f, 300, VI. Gen. Introd. pp. ix, x, xii, xv-xvii & nn, *Mos.*

of him in Exod. ii. 2 : *Conf.* 106, *Quis Her.* 19, *Congr.* 132, *Som.* ii. 227, 230, *Mos.* i. 9.

^a *Conf.* 106 & n & [N], *Mos.* i. 157.

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i & ii *passim*, VII. Gen. Introd. p. ix, *Decal.* 2-19, 45, *Spec. Leg.* i. 41 & n-51 & n, 59, ii. 256 & n, iii. 125, VIII. Gen. Introd. pp. x, xiv, xv, xxi, *Spec. Leg.* iv. 61, 104[N], 106[N], 173-175, *Virt.* title[N], 42, 51-81 & 78[N], 175, *Praem.* 4 & n & [N], 40n, 52-56, 77, 78 & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd. p. 5 n, 10[N], 29 & n, 43 & n, 73[N], *Vit. Cont.* 65[N], 80[N], 87, *Aet.* 19, 147[N], *Hyp.* Introd. pp. 408f, 6. 1n, 6. 2-4 & nn, 6. 8f, 6. 10, 7. 11f, 11. 1 & n, *Prov.* Introd. p. 448
 Muses : III. *Plant.* 129 & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 62, *Aet.* 55 ; cf. IV. *Mig.* 72

Naamah : see Noeman

Naason : II. *Post.* 76

Nadab and Abihu : I. *Leg. All.* ii. 57f, (iii. 133), IV. *Mig.* 168f & n, *Quis Her.* 309 & n, V. *Fug.* 59, 160n, *Som.* ii. 67 & n, 186 & n, VI. *Mos.* ii. 142ff, 276n, VIII. *Virt.* 53, 59, *Praem.* 78

Nadab and Abihu must be included in several references to Moses' nephews (*Leg. All.* iii. 133, *Mos.* ii. 142ff, *Virt.* 53, 59, *Praem.* 78). Their names are explained in Philo's exposition of Exod. xxiv. 1 : Nadab means 'voluntary' honouring of God ; Abihu, 'my father,' signifies the man sensible enough to have God for his father rather than master, whom he thus approaches fearlessly and affectionately (*Mig.* 168f & n). They are simply 'holy principles' (*Som.* ii. 67). But the significant passage for Philo is Lev. x. 1ff, which he contrives to interpret wholly in favour of Nadab and Abihu. The "strange fire" which they offered was their zeal, 'alien' to creation but akin to God (*Som.*

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ii. 67 & n), or their piety (*ib.* 186 ; *cf.* 67). Their death "before the Lord" was a translation to God's presence (*Fug.* 59, *Som.* ii. 67, *Quis Her.* 309 & n, *Mos.* ii. 276n). Their leaving their coats behind (*Lev.* x. 5) illustrates that nakedness which is freedom from passions (*Leg. All.* ii. 57f)

Nahor : II. *Post.* 76, IV. *Congr.* 43, 45 & n-53. Nahor means 'rest of light' (*Congr.* 45), and as kinsman of Abraham he obtained a share in wisdom's light ; yet his knowledge was incomplete, resting where it was, for he did not remove from Chaldaea, but honoured the created before the Creator (*ib.* 43). He represents, therefore, any philosophy that does not acknowledge God (*ib.* 45n). Philo is considering cases where men married wives and concubines, and he allegorizes Nahor's Milcah and Reumah. In *Post.* 75f he and Abraham represent examples of good men making good choices

Naid : see Nod

Naphtali : denotes 'broadening' or 'flung wide open,' and so he is the symbol of peace, by which all things are opened out and given width, just as they are shut in by war (V. *Som.* ii. 36)

Nazirite ^a : I. *Leg. All.* i. 17 & n, III. *Quod Deus* 87-90, 89[N]

Nero : IX. *Flacc.* 22

Nike : I. *Op.* 100

Nile : VI. *Mos.* i. 115f, ii. 195, IX. *Prov.* 2. 65 ; and, as 'the river of Egypt,' IV. *Conf.* 29f, *Quis Her.* 315f & n, V. *Fug.* 179f, *Som.* ii. 255-259, 278, 300,

^a Colson used both 'Nazarite' and 'Nazirite,' but the latter more often. Both are correct.

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- VI. *Mos.* i. 6, 99-101, 202, VIII. *Praem.* 90. For its allegorical significance see Egypt
- Nimrod : means 'desertion,' and typifies the fleshly outlook of the earth-born "giants," who are held to have 'deserted' the good (II. *Gig.* 65f)
- Noah : In Gen. v. 29 Lamech names his son Noah, and a punning explanation derives the name from a Hebrew root meaning 'rest.' By his birth Philo means us to understand the birth of righteous reasoning to the soul, whereby all painful ambitions, griefs, and wickednesses are banished (*Det.* 121-123) ; the birth of just Noah and his sons makes evident the abundance of the unjust (*Gig.* 3) ; being tenth from Adam (ten is a perfect number), righteous Noah's birth shows how his ancestor Seth was enlarged in virtue (*Post.* 173f), and how justice in the soul is perfect and the true goal (*Congr.* 90). In *Leg. All.* iii. 77, *Abr.* 27, Philo treats Gen. vi. 8 : "Noah found grace in the eyes of the Lord," even though he had as yet done nothing noble (*cf.* *Abr.* 47) : so God promotes goodly natures without giving reason (*cf.* *Quod Deus* 70-74) ; Noah's was an excellent nature, for he signifies 'rest' or 'righteous' (see below). The deeper meaning of "finding grace" with God is that only God, not creation, has grace to bestow ; His grace is the origin of creation (*Leg. All.* iii. 78, *cf.* *Quod Deus* 86, 104-108)
- "These are the generations of Noah. Noah was a just man, perfect in his generation, Noah was well-pleasing to God" (vi. 9, LXX) : the offspring of a good mind are the virtues mentioned, that he was a man, just, perfect, well-pleasing to God

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(*Quod Deus* 117f, *Abr.* 31-35); the righteous alone is a man (*Abr.* 32f); yet "perfect in his generation" indicates that he was not good absolutely but in comparison with the men of that time (*ib.* 36-39); Noah was pleasing to the Potencies, but Moses to God (*Quod Deus* 109, 116). This text supplies Philo with his regular epithet for Noah, "just" or "righteous,"^a and with "perfect,"^b and with the idea of Noah's virtues.^c Other descriptions of Noah make him good (*Quod Deus* 70, *Mos.* ii. 15, *cf.* *Det.* 105, *Quod Deus* 107) and noble (*Abr.* 27, 35, 56, *Virt.* 201, *cf.* *Leg. All.* iii. 78) and wise (*Det.* 170f, *Abr.* 27, 31), holy and pious (*Virt.* 201), beloved of God (*Abr.* 27, 46, *Som.* ii. 225)

Noah begat sons (vi. 10), for the just man who follows the truly masculine reason (λόγος) begets males, true-born and excellent fruit (*Gig.* 4f)

The corruption of the earth, the flood, and Noah being spared (vi. 11ff) are variously interpreted. In *Det.* 170ff the deluge is the washing away of the soul's defilements, and Noah is the goodly reasoning faculty instructed to bring into the body or vessel containing the soul (the ark) "from among the clean beasts seven, male and female" (vii. 2) that it should find all parts of

^a δίκαιος, *Leg. All.* iii. 77f, *Det.* 105-123, *Post.* 173f, *Gig.* 5, *Quod Deus* 85, 117f, 140, *Agr.* 2, 20, 181, *Plant.* 1, 140, *Sob.* 30, *Conf.* 105, *Mig.* 125, *Quis Her.* 260, *Congr.* 90, *Mut.* 189, *Som.* ii. 223f & n, *Abr.* 27, 33, 46, 56, *Praem.* 22f & n, *cf.* *Mos.* ii. 59.

^b τέλειος, *Quod Deus* 117, 122, *Abr.* 34, 36ff, 47, *Praem.* 22 & n, *cf.* *Gig.* 5, see also VI. Gen. *Introd.* p. x.

^c *Quod Deus* 117f, 122, 140, *Som.* ii. 225, *cf.* *Post.* 173; φιλάρετος, *Abr.* 27, 31, 34, 36ff, (48).

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the irrational side clean for its use. In *Quod Deus* 73-76, 85, God in anger judges the earth, but mingles mercy with judgement, that the race might survive, and valued one just man above the multitude of unjust thoughts. In *Conf.* 105 Philo is discussing asphalt, and suggests that its safety (ἀσφάλεια) is of bodily rather than spiritual things ; so Noah, in the great ceaseless deluge of life, while still needing sense to behold realities, " coats the ark with asphalt " (vi. 14), that is, strengthens the bodily impressions ; but presently he will come forth from the body and use his understanding, free from it, to apprehend truth. In *Mig.* 125, where Philo is dealing with the blessing of Abraham, Noah illustrates his argument that the righteous man is a good influence in the race, as is the righteous mind in the soul, for he survived the engulfing of so many parts of the soul and begat wisdom's new race. In *Mos.* ii. 60-65 Philo tells the story of the Flood and the Ark to show how the historical part of Moses' law-book records the punishment of the wicked and the salvation of the good. In *Virt.* 201, on Nobility, and the inheriting of it, Noah's piety is emphasized by his being the only family to be preserved from the flood : yet his son Ham was degenerate. In *Praem.* 22f the individual Noah was rewarded for his justice with preservation from the deluge and made the founder of a new race.^a This thought, that Noah was the last of the old race and first of the new, also occurs to Philo in *Abr.* 46, 56, *Mos.* ii. 60, 65, *cf. Mut.* 189. The covenant made with Noah

^a Noah is here equated with Deucalion ; see [N].

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(ix. 11) is briefly treated in *Som.* ii. 223-225 : the Pharaoh-mind had said, " I stood " ; but this stability belongs to God ; He imparts it to the Logos, which under the name of Covenant is said to be made to stand upon the just Noah. We learn that justice and God's covenant are identical, and that God gives the recipients of His gifts to themselves (see note *ad loc.*). It is the desire of the God-beloved to escape the waters of engrossing business and anchor in the calm and safety of virtue

" And Noah began to be a husbandman, and he planted a vineyard, and drank of the wine, and became drunken [LXX, " and was made naked "] within his house " (ix. 20f). Tilling the soil is a skilled trade and therefore proper to righteous Noah ; for the good man prunes away the growths of passions and vices in the soul (*Det.* 105, *Agr.* 1-10, 20) ; yet Noah only " began " : he had not the strength to complete his task (*Agr.* 125, 181). Noah's drunkenness leads to disquisitions on the subject (*Plant.* 140ff, *Ebr.* 4ff). His nakedness was of the foolish kind, a deprivation of virtue ; but " in his house " shows that the sin was limited in its harmful effect (*Leg. All.* ii. 60f, *cf. Ebr.* 4 and n). When Noah awoke to soberness, he blessed and cursed his sons (ix. 24ff) ; this indicates sobriety of the soul (*Sob.* 1-5), when it perceives the former doings of the young rebellious wickedness within it and curses them (*ib.* 30) ; and the blessing and cursing must have been the inspired utterances of a prophet (*Quis Her.* 260)

Noah symbolizes the good man, etc. (see above),

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the righteous philosopher (*Leg. All.* iii. 77f, *Quod Deus* 107), the righteous reasoning in the soul (*Det.* 121, 170, *cf. Gig.* 5, *Quod Deus* 70-72, *Mig.* 125 & n), the incorruptible element (*Quod Deus* 123), the soul itself (*Leg. All.* ii. 60f). In *Abr.* 7-47 (see VI. Gen. Introd. p. x), an imperfectly wise Triad comprising Enos (Hope), Enoch (Repentance), and Noah (Justice) is contrasted with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the first three are like the studies of children in comparison with the exercises of grown athletes in the sacred contests (*ib.* 48); Philo again treats the Triad in *Praem.* 22f & n (see VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi)

- I. *Leg. All.* ii. 60f, iii. 77f, II. *Det.* 105, 121-123, 170, *Post.* 173f, *Gig.* 1-5, III. *Quod Deus* 7-74, 86, 104-109, 116f, 122, 140, *Agr.* 1-10, 20, 125, 181, *Plant.* 1, 73, 140, *Ebr.* 4 & n, *Sob.* 1-5, 30-32, 44, 52n, (59), IV. *Conf.* 105 & n, *Mig.* 125 & n, *Quis Her.* 260, *Congr.* 90, V. *Mut.* 189, *Som.* ii. 223-225 & n, VI. Gen. Introd. p. x, *Abr.* 27, 31-39, 46-48, 56, *Mos.* ii. 59-65, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xxi, *Virt.* 201f, *Praem.* 22f & n & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* Introd. p. 4, 70[N]

Nod (LXX, Naid) : means 'tossing' (σάλος), symbol of the vice that creates tumult (κλόνος) in the soul of the foolish man (II. *Cher.* 12, *Post.* 22 & n), or 'tumult,' the destination of Cain (*Post.* 1, 32)

Noeman : one of the degenerate descendants of Cain, the 'fatness' of those whose goal is material comfort, II. *Post.* 120

Norbanus : X. *Leg.* 314f

Ocellus : IX. *Aet.* 12 & n & [N]

Odysseus : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 40f

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- Oedipus : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 15f & n
 Olympic Games : III. *Quod Deus* 147, *Agr.* 119 & [N],
 VIII. *Virt.* 193
 Olympus, Olympians : III. *Agr.* 119 & [N], IV. *Conf.*
 4, V. *Som.* i. 151, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 105
 On : see Heliopolis
 Onan : 'That evil suggestion of an unnatural creed,'
 represents self-love or the selfish pursuit of
 pleasure (II. *Post.* 180f, III. *Quod Deus* 16-18,
 IX. *Hyp.* 7. 7n)
 Onomarchus : IX. *Prov.* 2. 33
 Ossa : IV. *Conf.* 4
- Paeon : X. *Leg.* 110
 Palestine : VI. *Abr.* 133, *Mos.* i. 163, VIII. *Virt.* 221,
 IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75
 Pamphylia : X. *Leg.* 281
 Panaetius : IX. *Aet.* 76 & n
 Panathenaea : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 132
 Pandora : I. *Op.* 133, IX. *Aet.* 63
 Panhellenes : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 42
 Paradise : II. *Cher.* 11, 20, IV. *Congr.* 171 & [N]
 Parthians : III. *Quod Deus* 174, VI. *Jos.* 136, X. *Leg.*
 10, 256
 Pasch, Passover : I. *Leg. All.* (ii. 34), iii. 94 & n, 154,
 165, II. *Sac.* 62 & [N], 63, IV. *Mig.* 25f, *Quis Her.*
 192f, 255, *Congr.* 106, cf. 162, VI. *Mos.* ii. 224 (cf.
 'crossing-feast,' 226, 228, 233, and *Leg. All.* iii.
 94, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 41, 145 & n & [N]), VII. *Decal.*
 159, *Spec. Leg.* ii. 41, 145 & n & [N], 150n, IX.
Vit. Cont. 65n & [N]
 The Passover represents the passage from the life
 of the passions to the practice of virtue (*Sac.* 63),
 sacrificed with haste that the mind may eagerly

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pass away from the passions and thank God its Saviour (*Mig.* 25, *cf.* *Quis Her.* 255); when, at the Passover, the soul studies to unlearn irrational passion and of its own free will experiences the higher form of passion which reason sanctions, the lamb is divided for distribution: this illustrates proportioned equality of numbers (*Quis Her.* 192f, *cf.* *Congr.* 162); the perfect number, ten, is seen in the Passover being sacrificed on the tenth day (*Congr.* 106). See also *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145n & [N]

Pasiphaë: VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43-45, VIII. *Praem.* 23[N]
Peiraeus: IX. *Flacc.* 155

Peitho: The Egyptian city Peitho signifies our speech, because persuasion (Greek *πειθώ*) is its function, and the word means 'harassing mouth' (Hebrew), for the worthless man's speech harasses and overturns all that is good, II. *Post.* 54f, V. *Som.* i. 77

Pelion: IV. *Conf.* 4

Peloponnesian, Peloponnesian: IX. *Aet.* 140, *Flacc.* 154, 173, X. *Leg.* 281

Pentecost: VII. *Decal.* 160, *Spec. Leg.* i. 183, ii. 176 & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73 [N], *Vit. Cont.* 65 & nn & [N]

Penuel: The fate of Penuel at Gideon's hands indicates what is in store for the builders of Babel towers. Penuel, which is 'turning from God,' was destroyed: piety overturns every argument of impiety. IV. *Conf.* 129-132

Peor: see Baal-Peor

Peripatetic: IX. *Aet.* 55

Persians: III. *Quod Deus* 174, V. *Som.* ii. 117, VI. *Jos.* 133, 136, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 13 & n & [N], 17f

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& [N], 100 & n & [N], IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 74
 Petronius : X. *Leg.* 207-261, 333f

Pharaoh : Since Egypt (*q.v.*) represents the body, passions, etc., the king of Egypt (included here whether or not styled 'Pharaoh') signifies much the same things. He is the mind which is king of the realm of the body (*Agr.* 57, *Conf.* 88, *Fug.* 124, *Jos.* 151), sovereign of the animal and composite (*συγκρίτου ζώου*, *Sac.* 48), ruling the passions (*Leg. All.* iii. 13), the mind that fancies itself a king (*Mig.* 160, *Som.* ii. 215), the king of terror (*Mut.* 173). The same adjectives are used to describe Pharaoh as Egypt : he is a lover of pleasure and self, of the body and passion ^a ; he represents the foolish man,^b the incontinent soul ^c ; he is proud (*Ebr.* 111, *Mos.* ii. 88), stubborn (*Som.* ii. 184, *cf.* *Mos.* ii. 89), impious (*Mut.* 19, *Som.* ii. 182 ; see below, on *Exod.* v. 2). But Philo's favourite description presupposes the derivation of 'Pharaoh' from a word meaning 'to scatter,'^d so that he is 'the scatterer of things noble.'^e Frequent, too, is the term 'god-

^a φιλήδων, *Leg. All.* iii. 212, *Mut.* 171f, *Jos.* 153 ; φίλαντρος, *Cher.* 74, *Som.* ii. 219 ; φιλοσώματος, *Abr.* 103 ; φιλοπαθής, *Ebr.* 208f, *Som.* ii. 277.

^b ἄφρων, *Det.* 161f, *Mut.* 125, 128f, 171-175, *cf.* 89-91, *Som.* ii. 181 ; φῶλος, *ib.* 237.

^c *Ebr.* 210, *Som.* ii. 181f, 184, 200f, 211, *Abr.* 103, *Jos.* 153.

^d 'Pharaoh' is Egyptian and has no such meaning ; nor is there an obvious Hebrew word for 'scatter' ; but Philo perhaps had in mind an intensive form of III. עָרַב, or even just the general sound of the word, akin to many that begin with 'para-' and mean 'break out,' etc. ; or perhaps the Greek equivalent, φάρω.

^e ὁ σκεδαστής τῶν καλῶν *Leg. All.* iii. 236, 243, *cf.* 12f, *Sac.* 48, 69, *Det.* 95, *Quis Her.* 59f, *Som.* ii. 211.

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less^a; it is an obvious term for the enemies of God's people, but Philo justifies it in the case of Egypt by their worship of sacred beasts, and in the case of Pharaoh by Exod. v. 2, "I know not the Lord."^b God's words to Moses in vii. 1, "I give thee as a god to Pharaoh," are also much used.^c Other relevant texts are Gen. xli. 17 (*Som.* ii. 215-219, instability), Exod. ii. 15 (*Leg. All.* iii. 12f, *Fug.* 47), ii. 23 (*ib.* 212, *Det.* 93-95, Pharaoh's death and Israel's groaning), vii. 15 (*Conf.* 29f, *Som.* ii. 277f, wrong speaking of pleasure-lovers, *i.e.* Epicureans), the passions, viii. 9, 10 (*Sac.* 69-71, the folly of postponement), meet the soul with xiv. 7, xv. 1, 4 (*Ebr.* 77-79 & n, 111, the destruction of the wicked and boastful mind), xv. 9 (*Cher.* 74-83, God alone acts, man's part is passivity); the wickedness of making (brick) structures of evil-minded thoughts (*Conf.* 88f); failure to seek and find (*Fug.* 124f, 147)

- I. *Leg. All.* i. 40, iii. 12-14, 212, 236, 243, II. *Cher.* 74, *Sac.* 9 & [N], 48, 49-71, *Det.* 94f, 161f, *Post.* 115, III. *Agr.* 57-60, *Ebr.* 19, 77-79 & n, 111, 208-210, 214ff, IV. *Conf.* 72, 88, *Mig.* 84, 159-162 & n & 160[N], *Quis Her.* 20, 59f, V. *Fug.* 124f, 147, *Mut.* 19-21, 89-91, 125, 128f & n, 171-175, 207-209, *Som.* i. 77f, ii. 5, 159, 181-184, 195, 200f, 211,

^a ἄθεος, *Leg. All.* iii. 12f, 212, *Ebr.* 19; ἀντίθεος, *Conf.* 88, *Congr.* 118, *Som.* ii. 183, *cf.* 277.

^b *Leg. All.* iii. 12f, 243, *Post.* 115, *Ebr.* 19, 77, *Som.* ii. 182, *Mos.* i. 88.

^c See *Sac.* 9[N]; *Leg. All.* i. 40, *Sac.* 9, *Det.* 161f, *Mig.* 84, *Mut.* 19, 125, 128f, *Som.* ii. 189, *Quod Omn. Prob.* 43 & n.

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215-219, 237f, 261, 277-279, VI.^a Gen. Introd. p. xiii f, *Abr.* 93-106, *Jos.* 27 & n, 88-124, 148-150, 151-153, 157, 163, 166, 222, 242, 248-251, 256-258, *Mos.* i. 8-10, 13 & n, 15, 32f, 36f, 45f, 49, 73, 87-91, 105, 120, 122f, 134, 138f, 149, 167-169, ii. 248, VIII. *Virt.* 92n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 43 & n, *Hyp.* 11. 4n

Pharos : VI. *Mos.* ii. 35-44, IX. *Flacc.* 27, 110

Phaÿllus : IX. *Prov.* 2. 33f

Pheidias : III. *Ebr.* 89

Pheison : The river of Eden (Gen. ii. 10ff) divides into the four cardinal virtues (II. *Post.* 128f), Pheison being Prudence, owing to its 'sparing' (Greek *φείδεσθαι*) and guarding the soul from doing wrong ; it is the best of virtues (I. *Leg. All.* i. 63-66). Another derivation, supposedly from Hebrew, makes it mean 'alteration of mouth,' which is characteristic of prudence, for it transforms words into action ; universal (not particular) prudence is seated in the wisdom of God (*ib.* 74-78, 85)

Philadelphus, Ptolemy : VI. *Mos.* ii. 28-33

Philip the tetrarch : IX. *Flacc.* 25 & [N]

Philolaus : I. *Op.* 100 & n

Philomelus : IX. *Prov.* 2. 33f

Phinehas : When one of the Israelites introduced a Midianitish woman into the camp, Phinehas, one of the priests, took a spear and thrust both of them through. "So the plague was stayed from the children of Israel." And God said,

^a In Vol. VI only *Jos.* 151-153 contains allegorical matter about Pharaoh. For the contrast between the *De Josepho* and the *Allegorical Commentary* see VI. Gen. Introd. pp. xiii f.

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" Behold, I give unto him my covenant of peace . . . even the covenant of an everlasting priesthood " (Num. xxv. 6-13). Philo interprets this as follows : Phinehas, the controller of the inlets and outlets of the body (*Post.* 182), consecrated intelligence (*ib.* 184), most war-like reason (*Conf.* 57), a hater of evil and zealous for good, came as self-bidden champion (*Mut.* 108) ; he took a spear or probe (*σειρομάσσης*), that is, zeal for virtue (*Leg. All.* iii. 242, *Conf.* 57) or the exploring of the nature of existent things that discovers virtue (*Post.* 182, *cf. Ebr.* 73), the sharp and two-edged word (or 'reason,' *λόγος*) that explores each thing (*Mut.* 108), and he pierced through the Midianitish woman, the nature 'sifted out' from the sacred company, namely folly (*Leg. All.* iii. 242), the virtue-hating, pleasure-loving creature (*Post.* 182, *cf. Conf.* 57), passion (*Mut.* 108), the belief which ascribes causation to creation itself (*Ebr.* 73, *cf. Conf.* 57), and with her the man, that is the ideas or reasonings based on this belief (*Ebr.* 73) ; by thus thrusting through her womb, the part that typifies her belief (*Ebr.* 73, *Conf.* 57), he destroyed the source of baseness and voluptuousness (*Post.* 182), and prevented the further growth of wickedness (*Leg. All.* iii. 242), that the womb should bring to birth no plague of God's sending (*Mut.* 108). The twofold reward of peace and priesthood (*Mos.* i. 304) are sister virtues awarded to the soul for cutting out folly (*Leg. All.* 242, *cf. Ebr.* 74), peace, because Phinehas had ended the war of lusts in the soul, and priesthood, because it is akin to peace (the assonance is never far from Philo's mind : *cf. Mut.*

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108), and the consecrated intelligence delights to do God's will (*Post.* 183, *cf.* *Ebr.* 75); peace is awarded to warlike reason (*Conf.* 57)

A broader survey is this: Joseph and Phinehas represent two methods of dealing with pleasure—flight and fight (*Leg. All.* iii. 242); Onan and Phinehas are contrasted in their dealing with pleasure within themselves: Phinehas 'muzzled' his inward revolt. This war in the soul is the cause of all wars (*Post.* 182-185); like the Levites of the similar incident in *Exod.* xxxii, Phinehas is an example of those dutiful children who despise the female parent, convention, and follow the male parent, right reason, and he slays the philosophy which attributes causation to creation itself (*Ebr.* 73-76); there is a good 'symphony' of men of peace (*Gen.* xlii. 11)—peace which is yet a warfare against the symphony of evil; such was that of the captains who warred against Midian (led by Phinehas, *Num.* xxxi); most warlike of all is Phinehas himself, for his exploit (*Num.* xxv): he wins the true peace; but the captains share it in their turn (*Conf.* 55-57 & n); Midian is a double name, and it can stand for the exclusion by judgement of wrong elements, as it does in the story of Phinehas and the Midianite war that followed (*Mut.* 108f)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 242, II. *Post.* 182-185, III. *Ebr.* 73-76, IV. *Conf.* 55-57 & n, V. *Mut.* 106-109, VI. *Mos.* i. 300-304 & n, 305f, 313, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 56 & n, VIII. *Virt.* 34 & [N]-42

Phocis: IX. *Prov.* 2. 33

Phoenicia, Phoenicians: VI. *Mos.* i. 163, 214, IX. *Hyp.* 6. 6, X. *Leg.* 222, 225f, 281

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Phuah and Zipporah : The two Hebrew midwives (Exod. i. 15) represent human and divine wisdom, each indivisible, and appropriately named because Zipporah means 'bird,' and divine wisdom soars aloft like a bird, and Phuah means 'ruddy,' and human wisdom implants modesty and discretion, whose presence is proved by blushing (IV. *Quis Her.* 128)

Pilate : X. *Leg.* 299-305

Pindar : VIII. *Virt.* 172, IX. *Aet.* 121, *Prov.* 2. 50 & n

Planets : I. *Op.* 54 & [N], 113 & [N], 126, *Leg. All.* i. 8 & n

Plato : I. *Op.* 119 & n, 133, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 13 & n, *Vit. Cont.* 57-59, *Aet.* 13 & [N]-17 & nn, 25 & n-27, 38 & n, 52 & n, 141 & n^a

Pleiades : I. *Op.* 115, *Leg. All.* i. 8 & n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 57

Pluto : VII. *Decal.* 54

Polycrates : IX. *Introd.* p. 449, *Prov.* 2. 1n, 2. 24f & n & [NN]

Polyxena : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 116

Pontus : III. *Quod Deus* 175, X. *Leg.* 281

Poseidon : VI. *Abr.* 244[N], VII. *Decal.* 54 & [N], IX. *Vit. Cont.* 3 & [N]

Potiphar : Philo's treatment mainly centres round three texts: Gen. xxxvii. 36 with xxxix. 1, which tell of Joseph being sold by the Midianites and purchased by Potiphar, who is "a eunuch of Pharaoh, his chief cook" (LXX); and xxxix. 7, etc., which is the account of the attempt to seduce Joseph made by Potiphar's wife. Thus, I. *Leg. All.* iii. 236-241: Potiphar's wife, who is pleasure, is contrasted with Joseph and Phinehas,

^a See further Index to 'Translators' Notes.

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who meet pleasure with flight and fight ; Potiphar, eunuch and servant of Pharaoh, is the mind incapable of begetting wisdom because it serves the one who is disperser of noble things ; this interpretation explains how a eunuch can be said to have a wife. In III. *Quod Deus* 111-116 & [N] it is Potiphar himself who is identified with pleasure, the chief cateress of our compound nature ; Philo is contrasting Noah and Joseph, who " found grace " with the ruler of the prison : if we are prisoners of passion, we should at least avoid friendship with our gaoler. In III. *Ebr.* 210-217, 224 the subject is the relation of wine to greed, and Potiphar, eunuch and chief cook, shows that the ministers of pleasure are incapable of producing wisdom (*cf. Leg. All.* 236) or virtue. In IV. *Mig.* 19, 21 & [N] the discussion is on the survival of the higher qualities of the mixed or Joseph mind ; Potiphar's wife is pleasure, lusts, and passions. In V. *Mut.* 173, Philo, having said that joy is only for the good, says that Egyptian expressions of joy are either assumed or the hope of seducing the soul, as was done with Joseph ; Potiphar is the soul unable to beget anything that tends to discipline ; cook-like, he lives in an environment of dead ideas, hashed to pieces (see *Quis Her.* 242 [N]), arousing the appetites of the passions. His wife is bodily pleasure in V. *Som.* ii. 106 : but Joseph, like our own better judgement, refuses to acknowledge any claim but that of God. In *Jos.* 37-80 the same allegories are adapted to Philo's theme of Joseph as a statesman ; Potiphar represents the multitude that buys the statesman : as politicians,

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the multitude is occupied, like a cook, in choosing what will give pleasure, until the soul is enervated thereby; eunuch-like, the multitude is unproductive of wisdom; Potiphar's wife is desire, for the desire of the multitude makes love to the statesman, seducing him to succumb for its favour. Other references are insignificant —IV. *Conf.* 95, VI. *Jos.* 104, IX. *Flacc.* 72n

Potiphera: Priest of Heliopolis (Gen. xli. 45), V. *Som.* i. 78

Priene: IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 153

Protagoras: II. *Post.* 35, an offspring of Cain's madness

Proteus: III. *Ebr.* 36, X. *Leg.* 80

Psonthomphanech: V. *Mut.* 89 & n-91; see Joseph

Ptolemies: VI. *Jos.* 136, *Mos.* ii. 28-33, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 125, X. *Leg.* 140

Puteoli (Dicaearchia): IX. *Flacc.* 27 & n, X. *Leg.* 185

Pythagoreans: I. *Op.* 100 & n, *Leg. All.* i. 15, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 2 & n, *Aet.* 12 & n

Raamses: Egyptian city of Exod. i. 11, signifying sense-perception, for it means a 'moth's troubling,' since the mind is eaten out by each of the senses (II. *Post.* 54-57 & [N] & 56n, V. *Som.* i. 77)

Rachel: Rachel typifies sense-perception,^a and she is usually depreciated in favour of Jacob, the Practiser, and Leah, virtue (see I. Gen. Introd. p. xii & n). Thus, as the younger daughter of Laban, though the more beautiful (Gen. xxix. 16), she is comeliness of the body, and mortal only, whereas Leah is immortal beauty of the soul (*Sob.* 12, cf. *Ebr.* 52). Again, "when the

^a *Leg. All.* ii. 46, *Post.* 135, 177-179, *Ebr.* 54, *Sob.* 12, *Quis Her.* 50f, *Mut.* 96, *Som.* ii. 16.

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Lord saw that Leah was hated, he opened her womb : but Rachel was barren " (xxix. 31) : when the soul is pregnant and bears excellent deeds, the erstwhile beloved objects of sense become barren (*Quis Her.* 50f, *cf. Post.* 135). And though Rachel demand children from Jacob (xxx. 1f), it is God only who is the source of creation, as Leah's case shows (*Leg. All.* iii. 180, *Post.* 135). Rachel later recanted, however (xxx. 24, *Post.* 179). Nearly all these points are included in *Leg. All.* ii. 46f

On the other hand, the story of the flight of Rachel and Leah with Jacob (xxxi. 14ff) classes them together as the faculties of the Practiser (*Fug.* 14-18, *cf. Cher.* 40 & [N], *Post.* 62, *Quis Her.* 43f, *Congr.* 24 & n-32), while Laban complains that Jacob has stolen his sound sense, namely his daughters (xxxi. 26f; *Leg. All.* iii. 20-22), a stripping of the virtues (*Fug.* 15-18), a loss of the arts and branches of knowledge (*Cher.* 67-71). They, however, have rightly dissociated themselves from Laban and would refuse his kiss (xxxi. 28; *Quis Her.* 43f). In the search for the teraphim (xxxi. 34f), Rachel's words reveal that custom is followed more by women (weaker and effeminate souls), than by men, and they are the soul's confession that it cannot rise up against the external goods represented by Laban (*Ebr.* 54-59 & 56 [N])

After hard labour, Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin, whom she wanted to call Benoni, 'son of my sorrow' (xxxv. 16, 18f); here she is contrasted with Jacob, reason, and her words signify the secret misery of the soul that is mother of

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vainglory; *cf.* *Ebr.* 52, for her bitter experience contrasts with public opinion of it; vainglory means the death of the soul (*Mut.* 92-96)

In *Congr.* 24 & n-32 we have Philo's only derivation of the name (but see *Fug.* 16 & [N]), and a different treatment: the Practiser of virtue has two wives; one is the smooth movement which proceeds to noble life without conflict (the *λεία κίνησις* of Stoic terminology): the other is Rachel, who is like a whetstone on which the mind sharpens its edge. Her name means 'vision of profanation,' because she judges the visible world to be profane; she belongs to the unreasoning element in the soul, training us through the senses (so her handmaid is Bilhah, 'swallowing,' a bodily function). The Practiser loves Rachel when he wrestles with the passions and opposes all objects of sense. Thus Leah helps by giving peaceful enjoyment of the good, Rachel by the fighting opposition to evil. See also Jacob, Laban, Leah

- I. Gen. Introd. p. xii & n, *Leg. All.* ii. 46f & [N], 94, iii. 20-22, 180, II. *Cher.* 40 & [N], 67-71, *Post.* 62, 135, 179, III. *Ebr.* 52-59 & 56[N], *Sob.* 12, IV. *Quis Her.* 43f, 50f, 175, *Congr.* 24 & n-32, V. *Fug.* 14-18 & 16 [N], *Mut.* 92-96, 97n, *Som.* ii. 16, VIII. *Virt.* 221n, 223 & n-225

Raguel: see Jethro

Ram: I. *Op.* 116

Rameses: see Raamses

Rebecca: Rebecca is the symbol of Patience,^a or

^a *ὑπομονή*, *Leg. All.* iii. 88f (*ὑπομονητική ψυχή*), *Sac.* 4, *Det.* 45, 51, *Plant.* 169f, (*τῶν καλῶν*), *Mig.* 208f, *Congr.* 36, 111-408

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Steadfastness in excellence, a queenly, virgin virtue ^a ; she is also to be connected with Reason (*Post.* 77f) or Knowledge (*ib.* 77f, 138, *Fug.* 52, 195 ; see Isaac)

Abraham sent his servant to obtain a wife for Isaac, and it was Rebecca who fulfilled his words by offering water to the servant and for his camels (*Gen.* xxiv. 15ff). In a sustained allegory, Philo contrasts Rebecca with Hagar, the type of School learning : Rebecca, virgin virtue, waters her pupil from the well of divine wisdom (*cf.* *Fug.* 194), not with gradual progress but with perfection (*Post.* 132-153, and *Introd.* p. 325f). She ' went down ' to the well (xxiv. 16), a descent from proud imposture ; she ' came up ' thereby to virtue's height (*Fug.* 194f, *Post.* 136). In *Congr.* 111-113 Philo illustrates the use of the perfect number, Ten : the servant had ten camels, he gave Rebecca bracelets of ten weights of gold (xxiv. 10, 12)

Philo maintains that the lovers of wisdom, represented by Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and others, did not know women but were wedded to virtues, Rebecca being Patience (*Cher.* 40f, *cf.* *Congr.* 34-38, *Post.* 62, 132f). ' Taking a wife ' is to be understood in this way : good men choose good, bad men choose evils ; but some are above that, so Isaac, though he " took Rebekah " (xxiv. 67), did so only in his mother's

113, *Fug.* 39, 194f, *Som.* i. 46, *cf.* *Fug.* 45 (ἐπιμονή, ἐπιμένω), *Cher.* 41 (τῶν καλῶν), 47, *Det.* 30f (τοῖς καλοῖς), *Fug.* 24 (ὀρθογνώμων).

^a *Congr.* 36 and *Post.* 132f ; ἀρετή, *Cher.* 40f, *Post.* 62, 77f, 132f, 136, *Congr.* 36, 111f.

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tent (*Post.* 77f; Sarah is sovereign Virtue or Wisdom). Rebecca was barren, but Isaac prayed to the Lord and she conceived (xxv. 21): virtue brings forth to her lover, but receives the divine seed from God (*Cher.* 47). She learned that she was to have twins ("Two nations are in thy womb . . ." xxv. 22f), the base and irrational nature, the good and rational (*Leg. All.* iii. 88). Hers being a pregnancy accompanied by wisdom, Rebecca received (opposed to 'having') in her womb the knowledge of the two nations of the mind, virtue and vice, and distinguished between them, and she was happily delivered (*Congr.* 129f, *cf. Sac.* 4)

Abimelech saw Isaac "sporting with Rebekah his wife" (xxvi. 8)—a divine pursuit (*Cher.* 8 & n), the wise man making merry with her who waits patiently for all that is beautiful (*Plant.* 169f)

I. *Leg. All.* iii. 88f, II. *Cher.* 8 & n, 40f, 47, *Sac.* 4, *Det.* 30f, 45, 51, *Post.* 62, 77f, 132-153, III. *Plant.* 169f, IV. *Mig.* 208-211, *Congr.* 34-38, 111-113, 129, V. *Fug.* 23-25 & [N], (26-38), 39-52 & 45[N], 194f, *Som.* i. 46, VIII. *Virt.* 208f & n, 221n

Red Sea: VI. *Gen. Introd.* p. xv, *Mos.* i. 165, 169-181, ii. 1, 247-257, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145n, VIII. *Praem.* 78[N], IX. *Vit. Cont.* 85; *cf. I. Leg. All.* iii. 94, 172, III. *Ebr.* 79 & n, and see Passover

Reuben: Reuben is the symbol of good natural endowments, for 'seeing son' he is called, in so far as he is a son not perfect, but in so far as he is a man with power to see and keenness of vision, well endowed by nature (*Som.* ii. 33). Philo keeps consistently to 'natural ability' for Reuben, and develops the idea in accordance

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with various texts : thus in Num. iii. 12f the Levites are said to be a ransom for the first-born ; this means that Levi, 'sanctified reason,' is accepted by God before Reuben, natural ability (*Sac.* 118-121). "This our son is disobedient . . ." (Deut. xxi. 18-21) suggests other sons, not disobedient ; such are the reasonings of the naturally gifted, of which Reuben is a type (*Ebr.* 94). God employs subordinate ministers for the lower work of punishment, and so we find the six best tribe-leaders, Reuben amongst them, set over the blessing, and six others over the cursing (Deut. xxvii. 12f, *Fug.* 73). The blessing of Moses (mistakenly attributed to Jacob) prays that natural ability may live (Deut. xxxiii. 6, *Mut.* 210). Jacob's words in Gen. xlviii. 5, "Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me," lead Philo to find an analogy between Reuben, the gifted nature, and Ephraim, memory, etc. (*Mut.* 97-102)

- I. *Leg. All.* i. 81, II. *Sac.* 118-121, III *Ebr.* 94, V. *Fug.* 73, *Mut.* 97-102, 210, *Som.* ii. 33, VI. *Jos.* 13, 16-21, 173-176, 188, 217, *Mos.* ii. 175, 186n, VIII. Gen. Introd. p. xviii n, *Praem.* 75n

Reumah : Nahor, Abraham's kinsman, shared in his wisdom, yet his knowledge never went beyond the Chaldaean astrology ; he represents, therefore, any scheme of things that does not acknowledge God as Creator. He had a wife, Milcah, who symbolizes the Chaldaean astrology, queen of the sciences ; his concubine was Reumah, which means 'seeing something,' and symbolizes the sceptics, busying themselves with quibbling

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over little things, missing the better, more profitable things. They come third, astrology is second best, best is Israel that sees God (Gen. xxii. 23f, IV. *Congr.* 43-53)

Rhegium : IX. *Aet.* 139

Rhine : X. *Leg.* 10

Rhodes : IX. *Aet.* 120

Rome, Romans : I. *Op.* 127 (spelling of *septem*), IX. *Flacc.* 28, 40 (Senate), 105, 152, 158, X. *Leg.* 10, 28 (laws), 108, 116 (freedom), 144, 153, 155, 157, 160 (Jews), 185, 219f, 252, 285-287 (citizenship), 337, 342, (351)

Salem : I. *Leg. All.* iii. 79-81 : Melchizedek was made king of 'peace' (Salem) and priest of God without first doing anything to merit it. Peace is the proper realm of a king, as war is of the despot

Samuel : Hannah gave Samuel to the Lord, and his name means 'appointed to God' (V. *Som.* i. 254, III. *Quod Deus* 5, 11, *Ebr.* 143f, IV. *Mig.* 196). Hannah's dedication of her child contrasts with those who beget for themselves (Gen. vi. 4, *Quod Deus* 5); in thanksgiving she said, "The barren hath borne seven . . .," and Samuel, whose existence is ordered in accordance with God alone, the Monad, implies the number of rest, namely Seven (*ib.* 11-13). This ordering of his life included abstinence from strong drink (1 Sam. i. 11, LXX), and Samuel is therefore evidence that drunkenness is a moral folly; we are to think, however, not so much of Samuel the man (whose real existence Philo appears to doubt : see I. Gen. Introd. p. xiv) as of the mind that rejoices in the service of God alone (*Ebr.*

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143f). Before instructing Saul in kingship, Samuel, appointed to the highest post in God's service, withdraws him from the baggage (1 Sam. x. 22f, *Mig.* 196f). Samuel himself is styled 'greatest of kings and prophets' (*Ebr.* 143 & n). He represents an inspired temper possessed by a God-sent frenzy (*Som.* i. 254 & [N]). See also VIII. *Praem.* 4-6[N]

Sarah : Sarah stands for Virtue,^a or Wisdom,^b often described as 'ruling' or 'sovereign'^c; that is an allusion to the interpretation of her names, made in *Cher.* 3-10, *Congr.* 1-13, *Mut.* 61, 66n, 77-80, 130. Sarai, as her name was at the first, means 'my sovereignty,' and is a symbol of specific virtue—the wisdom in me, the self-control in me, etc.—which perishes with its possessor. When the name was changed to Sarah (in Greek, by the addition of another rho, *Mut.* 61, 77), that is, 'sovereignty,' she ceased to symbolize the particular and became the type of generic virtue, greater than the species, the archetype, imperishable. She is thus the motherless principle of things (*ἀμήτωρ ἀρχή*): and this probably contains a play upon *ἀρχή*, 'rule,' 'sovereignty'; certainly Philo alludes to the name when he uses *ἄρχουσα*, 'ruling.' As wife of Abraham, the

^a *ἀρετή*, *Leg. All.* ii. 82, iii. 218, 244, *Cher.* 3-7, 9 (*τελεία*), 41, *Sac.* 59, *Det.* 59-61, *Post.* 62, 132 (*τελεία*), 134, *Ebr.* 59 (*φιλάρετος διάνοια*), *Quis Her.* 62, 258, *Congr.* 2-12, 22f, 63, 71, 128, *cf.* 180, *Fug.* 128, *Mut.* 77, 80, 142, 148-150, 166f, 255, 261.

^b *σοφία*, *Leg. All.* ii. 82, *Cher.* 9f, 45, 49f, *Det.* 124, *Congr.* 9, 13, 22, 79f, 129, *Mut.* 79f, 151-153, *Abr.* 100.

^c *ἄρχουσα*, *Leg. All.* ii. 82, iii. 244, *Cher.* 3, 41 (*ἄρχουσα καὶ ἡγεμονίς*), *Quis Her.* 258, (*cf.* *ἀρχή*, 62), *Abr.* 99.

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wise man, the type of the virtue that comes by teaching, Sarah assists his advance from the inferior creeds of Chaldaea and Haran to the vision and knowledge of God, chiefly by advising him to have union with Hagar (see below). As Hagar's mistress, Sarah is repeatedly contrasted with her, the higher education compared with that of the Schools (*e.g. Leg. All.* iii. 244f, *Congr.* 71-80), the branches of knowledge compared with the lower arts (*Congr.* 139f). Besides virtue and wisdom, Sarah also signifies sound sense,^a knowledge,^b the fruitful mind (*Spec. Leg.* ii. 54, *cf. Mig.* 140), good (*Post.* 76f)

“ Abram and Nahor took to themselves wives ” (*Gen.* xi. 29) : among Cain's descendants was Lamech, who did the same ; such choices can be good or bad, according to the chooser, and Abram's was a deliberate choice of the good (*Post.* 76-78). Sarai was barren, and told Abram to obtain children by her handmaid Hagar (*xvi.* 1f) : she was barren, yet prolific, for from her sprang the populous Israel ; and virtue is barren of all that is bad, but a fruitful mother of the good (*Congr.* 3, *Mut.* 143). Yet as Sarai she represents wisdom in the individual, as yet unable to have children by her (“ she was not bearing for him,” *xvi.* 1) ; thus the incapacity is that of the immature soul (Abram), who must resort to the School learning (Hagar) (*Congr.* 1-23, *Leg. All.* iii. 244). “ And Abram hearkened to the voice of Sarai ” : the learner must obey virtue's com-

^a φρόνησις, *Mig.* 126, *Congr.* 72, 154, 156, *cf.* 2, *Fug.* 207, *Mut.* 137, 151-153.

^b ἐπιστήμη, *Congr.* 22, 139f, 154, 156.

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mands (*cf. Leg. All.* iii. 244) ; yet only real lovers of knowledge do hearken—which implies assent and obedience as well as hearing (*Congr.* 63-70). When Sarah gave him Hagar, she is again called “Abram’s wife” : this points the lesson that the lover of learning engaged in the Encyclia does not forget his faith plighted to his true wife, philosophy (*ib.* 71-80). The words, “when she saw that she had conceived” (xvi. 4f), are interpreted as “when Sarai saw,” borne out by her report to Abram in the next verse, and they signify that the lower arts can only dimly see their own products, whereas knowledge can clearly apprehend them (*ib.* 139f). Abram said, “Behold thy maid is in thy hands,” which can mean ‘subject to thee,’ but may also mean that the school subjects require the bodily organs and faculties, while the mistress wisdom reaches to the soul (*ib.* 155 & [N]-158). Sarah then afflicted Hagar ; but we are not here dealing with women’s jealousy, but with minds, that occupied with the preliminary learning, and that striving for virtue’s palm, not ceasing till it is won (*ib.* 180). Hagar fled ; but she could return because Sarai was favourably disposed, a deduction made on the basis of Hagar’s flight being one of shame (“humiliation” or “affliction,” xvi. 11), not fear (*Fug.* 1-6). The whole story is given in *Abr.* 247-254 as an instance of Sarah’s wifely qualities. The change of name was made by God (xvii. 15). It indicates a betterment of soul. While she was Sarai, still specific virtue, Hagar will return to her, lower to lower ; but later, when Sarai’s name and character have been changed, and Isaac has

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been born, then the preliminary study and her sophist son will be banished for good (*Cher.* 4-8). The main lesson from this change of name is that generic virtue is higher than the specific, and imperishable (see above); but in passing, Philo states that we learn also that every virtue is a queen and a sovereign and a ruler of human life (*Mut.* 80). With Sarah's change of name came promises from God to Abraham. "I will give thee a child of her": this means God is to be father of the child; but he is also husband of the virtue-loving mind (proved by *Gen.* xxix. 31) (*Mut.* 130-132, *cf.* *Cher.* 49); "of her" can be taken in several ways: Philo prefers that which makes virtue the mother of the good (*Mut.* 141-144). The promise continues, "I will bless her and she shall be for nations, and kings of nations shall be from her." The first phrase indicates the subdivision of generic virtue; but we may also learn that virtue is beneficial for nations, whether peoples or groups of ideas: and Philo praises virtue's part in life in terms that recall the praises of Wisdom (*e.g.* *Prov.* viii. 14ff). The last phrase shows that virtue's sons are all rulers, for the sage alone is king (*Mut.* 148-150, 151-153)

Omniscient God does not usually ask questions, which imply ignorance. But when he asked Abraham, "Where is Sarah thy wife?" (xviii. 9), it was because it was necessary for Abraham to answer where his virtue was. Abraham replied that it was in the soul ("Behold, in the tent"), laid up like a treasure, yet not making him happy because happiness consists in the

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exercise of virtue, impossible until the birth of Isaac (*Det.* 57-61). The promise of a son was renewed, but Sarah laughed, for "it had ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women (*ἐξέλειπεν δὲ Σάρρα γίνεσθαι τὰ γυναῖκια*)" (xviii. 11). This is a favourite text with Philo. It means her passions were now calmed within her (*Spec. Leg.* ii. 54 & n); the passions are feminine and must be quitted for the masculine noble affections (*Det.* 28, *Fug.* 128); the "customs of women" are the external things of sense; but Sarah fled from these to where the men are quartered when she was about to conceive Isaac (*Ebr.* 59-64); his mother forsook the human ways of custom and mere reasoning when she was to bear Isaac, the self-taught nature that finds without seeking (*Fug.* 167f); God is husband of virginity, that is, wisdom, who is Sarah: she was virgin, for she passed from the emasculate passions to virtues (hence God only speaks to her after *v.* 11) (*Cher.* 49f); her virginity was not of the ever-virgin type (Rebecca), but she typifies those who pass from womanhood to virginity (*Post.* 134). This text is closely connected with the birth of Isaac in *Leg. All.* iii. 217, *Cher.* 8, *Post.* 134, *Ebr.* 59. In *Cher.* 8 it is apparently applied to Isaac himself (see [N]). When Sarah "laughed within herself" (xviii. 12) with incredulity (*Abr.* 111f), it was the joy of virtue contrasted with sense-perception's groaning (*Leg. All.* iii. 217f); even though Isaac was not yet born, laughter was possible because virtue is by nature cause for joy, while vice is grievous (*Mut.* 166f). In *Abr.* 205f it is again

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virtue's joy ; but Philo recognizes Sarah's incredulity by saying she doubted whether joy is not more than humanity can expect ; so too *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54f. In *Ebr.* 62 it is a mocking laugh at the anxious cares of men, especially their concern with the things of sense. Sarah denied that she had laughed. Philo treats this in *Abr.* 205f and *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54f : joy was in mind's womb, so she smiled ; but she reflected that joy is the property of God alone, and becoming afraid, she denied her soul's laughter. God made her acknowledge it, thereby showing her that joy is not altogether denied to the creature : only it is a mixed joy, blended with sorrow

The story of Abraham and Sarah deceiving Abimelech (*Gen.* xii) is given in *Abr.* 92-106. Abraham's words in the parallel story of *Gen.* xx. (v. 12), "She is my sister, daughter of my father but not of my mother," are apt, for the virtue-loving mind has no female parentage—the material substance perceptible to the senses—but was born of the Father and Cause of all things (*Ebr.* 61, *Quis Her.* 62). The same sort of interpretation is applied to the non-mention of Abraham at Sarah's conception in *Gen.* xxi. 1 : "The Lord visited Sarah." The lovers of wisdom wed virtues, not women, and these bear *to* their lovers but *by* God ; an example is Sarah, who was alone at her conception (*Cher.* 43-45 & [N]). She said, "The Lord hath made laughter for me (E.V., "made me to laugh"), for whoever hears it shall rejoice with me" (xxi. 6). This is (a) the joy of virtue contrasted with sense-perception's

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grief (*Leg. All.* iii. 219, *cf. Det.* 123 ; *cf.* also *Leg. All.* ii. 82, where it is used for an analogy), and (b) the truth that God is the Father ("The Lord hath made") of the perfect (Isaac) nature (*Leg. All.* iii. 219), or of laughter, the offspring of wisdom (*Det.* 124),^a and (c) the fact that few can receive this teaching ("whoever" suggests few) (*Mut.* 138f, *cf. Leg. All.* iii. 219). The next words of Sarah seem to mean to Philo that spiritually it is Isaac who suckles Sarah (*Mig.* 140 & [N]-142)

Sarah's death (xxiii. 2) calls forth from Philo a eulogy of her character (*Abr.* 245ff), and he describes in detail Abraham's grief and his purchase of a burial-ground (*ib.* 255-261). So eventually Abraham and Sarah were buried in Machpelah, the double cave that received the virtues in pairs (*Post.* 62)

- I. Gen. *Intro.* p. xvi f, *Leg. All.* ii. 82, iii. 85, 217-219, 244f, II. *Cher.* 3-10, 40-52, *Sac.* 59f, *Det.* 28, 57-61, 123-125, *Post.* 62, 76-78, 130, 134, III. *Ebr.* 59-62 & n, IV. *Mig.* 126, 140 & [N]-142 & n, *Quis Her.* 62 & n, 258, *Congr.* 1-23, 63-82, 127-129, 139f, 151-158, 180, V. *Fug.* 16, 128, 166f, 207, *Mut.* 61 & [N], 66n, 77-80, 130, 137f, 141-143, 148-153, 166f & n, 176, 252, 261, 264, VI. *Abr.* 92-106 & 100-102[N], 108-113, 168, 206 & n, 254-261, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 54 & n, 55

Sardanapalus : VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 122

Sarmatians : X. *Leg.* 10

Saturn : IV. *Quis Her.* 224, X. *Leg.* 13

^a God the Father of Sarah, *Ebr.* 61, *Quis Her.* 62 ; of Isaac, *Leg. All.* iii. 219, *Cher.* 43-45 & [N], 49, *Det.* 124, *Mig.* 140, *Mut.* 130-132, 137-141, 255.

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- Saul : IV. *Mig.* 196f
 Scales : I. *Op.* 116
 Sceptics : IV. *Congr.* 52
 Scylla : II. *Det.* 178 & [N]
 Scythians : III. *Ebr.* 174, V. *Som.* ii. 59, VI. *Mos.* ii. 19,
 X. *Leg.* 10
 Sebasteum : X. *Leg.* 151
 Seir : III. *Quod Deus* 99
 Sejanus : IX. *Flacc.* 1 & [N], X. *Leg.* 37, 159-161
 Sella (Zillah) : one of the two wives taken for himself
 by the worthless Lamech, Sella means 'shadow'
 and is a symbol for bodily and external goods,
 which are really only shadows (II. *Post.* 75f, 112f).
 Sella was mother of Thobel (*ib.* 114, 119)
 Semele : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 130
 Senate : IX. *Flacc.* 40, X. *Leg.* 74
 Seth : Adam's involuntary going out from God's face
 later meets with some remedy in the birth of
 Seth to replace Abel (*Post.* 10, 124, *cf.* 172f).
 There are two persons called Enoch (or one ?) :
 one, a son of Cain (Gen. iv. 17), the other a de-
 scendant of Seth (v. 18) ; it is the same with
 Methuselah and Lamech. Under the one line
 should be enrolled all those who share the godless
 creed of Cain, under the other those who acknow-
 ledge all (esp. offspring) as the gift of God, with
 Seth at their head (*ib.* 40-48). Seth means
 'watering,' for the mind waters the senses (*ib.*
 124-126, *cf.* 10, 170) : this leads Philo into a
 long excursus on Watering (127-169). When
 Seth is called "another seed" (iv. 25), "another"
 can be taken as virtue, being 'hostile' to wicked-
 ness (Cain) and friendly to Abel, being 'different'
 only in degree from him (172f). In 170 Seth is a

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kind of first pattern of virtue begotten by the mind. In 173f the limit of Seth's attainment in knowledge is said to be the starting-point for that of righteous Noah, who is ten (the perfect number) places removed from Seth: Seth's virtue steadily grows in his descendants. Seth also occurs in II. *Cher.* 54, *Det.* 138, VI. *Abr.* 12n

Shechem : Jacob hid the "strange gods" under the terebinth in Shechem (Gen. xxxv. 4). These are bad men's gods, the passions or pleasures, and must be placed under guard in Shechem ('shoulder,' symbol of toil), for he that devotes toil to pleasures keeps them well guarded. Again, Shechem is the things of the body and of the senses when in Gen. xlviii. 22 Jacob is said to give a portion to Joseph, who toils at these things. They are secondary, so the wise man does not keep them but passes them on (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 23-26 & n). But Shechem is also used to signify toil *against* bodily pleasure, a struggle that is a great burden such as 'shoulder' suggests (II. *Det.* 9, on Gen. xxxvii. 13). When Abraham "travelled through the country as far as Shechem" (xii. 6), it was the mind's quest for knowledge and mastery of the body and of created things, and Shechem signifies the toil involved (IV. *Mig.* 216, 221)—very necessary if the judgement faculties of the understanding are not to be raped by him who practises the opposite kind of toil, as does the Shechem of Gen. xxxiv. (*ib.* 223f & nn, *cf.* V. *Mut.* 193f)

Shem : Shem means simply 'name,' and so we must understand the whole genus, representing good, which alone is a thing of name and good report,

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just as bad is nameless and of evil name. So Noah's prayer is unique and transcendent : it is the Lord whom he declares to be peculiarly the God of Shem (Gen. ix. 26, III. *Sob.* 51 & [N], 52 & n & [N], 53f). The words " let him dwell in the houses of Shem " may be a prayer that God Himself with His providential care may inhabit the mind ; and Shem was the root of those qualities seen in the Patriarchs and the twelve tribes, " the palace and priesthood of God " (Exod. xix. 6) (*ib.* 62-66). But perhaps it is Japhet who is to dwell in the houses of Shem : in that case it is a prayer that the mind that takes bodily and external things to be forms of the good should return to the one good which belongs to the soul (*ib.* 67f). In V. *Mut.* 189 Shem is used to prove the perfection of the number one hundred. Shem is also mentioned in II. *Post.* 173, IV. *Mig.* 125n, VIII. *Virt.* 221[N]

Sheshai : ' Outside me,' stands for external goods (II. *Post.* 60f)

Shinar : The Babel-builders " moved from the east (' rising ') and found a plain in the land of Shinar and dwelt there." This was where vice was located, the starting-point of folly : for Shinar means ' shaking out,' signifying the chaos and disintegration of the soul of the fool, from which all good is shaken out (IV. *Conf.* 1, 60, 68f)

Shittim : ' Thorns,' a symbol of passions pricking and wounding the soul (Num. xxv. 1, V. *Som.* i. 89-91)

Shur : Shur, where the angel of the Lord found Hagar (Gen. xvi. 7, V. *Fug.* 1, 203), means ' wall ' or ' straightening ' and symbolizes the way in

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which the soul is kept on the safe highway of discipline

Sicily : I. *Leg. All.* i. 62, VI. *Jos.* 132, IX. *Aet.* 139, *Prov.* 2. 26

Siddim : Gen. xiv. 3, A.V. LXX, " salt ravine " : the place of vices and passions (IV. *Conf.* 26)

Sidon : IX. *Aet.* 76 & n, X. *Leg.* 222, 337

Sihon : When Mind listens to Sense-perception, as Adam did to Eve, disaster follows ; the mind is set on fire. Philo illustrates this by allegorizing Num. xxi. 27-30 ; he interprets " a flame (hath gone forth) from the city of Sihon " as that an irrational impulse issues forth from the mind that corrupts the truth (Sihon = ' corrupting '). Philo manages to read the destruction of the Sihon mind in the latter part of his text (I. *Leg. All.* iii. 225, 228, 233)

Silanus, M. : X. *Leg.* 62-65, 71f, 75

Simeon : " This our son is disobedient . . . " (Deut. xxi. 18) implies other sons who are not : among these are Reuben, Simeon, Levi, etc. Simeon is the docile scholar, for his name means ' hearing ' (III. *Ebr.* 94, V. *Som.* ii. 34, 37). In treating the Shechem of Gen. xii. 6, Philo discusses the incident of Gen. xxxiv, when Shechem, the toiler in folly, tried to ravish Dinah, the soul's judgement ; then the ' hearers ' and pupils of sound sense, Simeon and Levi, defeated him (IV. *Mig.* 224). These two champions were so much one in mind and purpose that Moses compresses Simeon into Levi in Deut. xxxiii. 8 (V. *Mut.* 200 & n). God uses subordinate ministers for punishment ; this is seen in his allocating blessing to the six best tribe-leaders (including

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- Simeon), and setting the other six over the cursing (V. *Fug.* 73). Jacob's blessing in Gen. xlviii. 5, "Ephraim and Manasseh shall be as Reuben and Simeon to me," leads Philo to see a correspondence between Ephraim and Reuben, Manasseh and Simeon. The advance 'from forgetfulness' (Manasseh) involves recollection (which M. symbolizes), and recollection is akin to learning (Simeon), in which it often plays a part. Reuben (natural excellence) is named before Simeon: so natural excellence, which resembles sight (Reuben='seeing son'), is better than learning, which resembles 'hearing' (V. *Mut.* 97-102). Simeon is also mentioned in I. *Leg. All.* i. 81 and VI. *Jos.* 175-210
- Sinai: IV. *Quis Her.* 251, VI. Gen. Introd. p. xv, *Mos.* i & ii, Introd. p. 275 & n, VII. Gen. Introd. p. ix, *Decal.* 32ff, VIII. *Praem.* 4-6[N]
- Sisyphus: II. *Cher.* 78
- Socrates: III. *Quod Deus* 146 & n, 147, *Plant.* 65f, V. *Som.* i. 55-58, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57, *Prov.* 2. 21. In *Som.* i. 58 Socrates is equated with Terah: but whereas Socrates was a human propounding a philosophy of self-knowledge, Terah was self-knowledge itself
- Sodom, Sodomites: Sodom means 'blindness' and 'barrenness' (e.g. *Scm.* ii. 191f). Thus Gen. xiii. 12 indicates Lot's relapse into his old state of ignorance (*ἀμαθία*, *Mig.* 150 & [N]); the city of Sodom stands for the animal nature, blind of reason, nearly destroyed in the soul's warfare of Gen. xiv (*Congr.* 91f & n; the events are described in *Abr.* 225ff); when Abraham refused the offer of the king of Sodom ("Give me the

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men, and take the horses for thyself," xiv. 21, LXX), it was the refusal to accept irrational creatures in exchange for reasonable beings and so make himself rich in the products of evil (*Leg. All.* iii. 23f); Abraham was retaining God-given property and ridding himself of the possessions ignorantly claimed by the Sodom character (*ib.* 195-197); Abraham interceded for Sodom, but in spite of this it was destroyed: every wise man is a ransom for the fool, unless his evil be a sickness so violent that it overpowers the physician's treatment (*Sac.* 118, 121-123); when praying for the soul barren of good and blind of reason, Abraham stopped at ten, the redemption number (*Conf.* 109); Gen. xix. 4 tells how the Sodomites, representing those barren of wisdom and blind in understanding, surrounded the soul to dishonour the sacred Thoughts that were its guests (*ib.* 27f & n); they "wearied themselves in seeking the door" (xix. 11), but this was a seeking that had no finding (*Fug.* 143f); the destruction of Sodom by fire (*Abr.* 1 & n, *Mos.* ii. 55f, *Aet.* 147[N], and, with an allegory attached, *Abr.* 133ff) was judgement on the adversaries of virtue (*Som.* i. 85, cf. *Leg. All.* 213); the raging passion for wine is insatiable, and, allegorically, drunkenness is a symbol for folly in general: all of which is suggested by "the vine of Sodom," etc., in Deut. xxxii. 32f, for Sodom is barrenness and blindness, and the fool's desires are barren of true gladness (*Ebr.* 222-224, *Som.* ii. 191f)

- I. *Leg. All.* iii. 23f, 195-197, 212f, II. *Sac.* 118, 121-123, III. *Ebr.* 222-224, IV. *Conf.* 27f & n, 91f & n, 109, *Mig.* 150 & [N], V. *Fug.* 143f, *Som.* i. 85,

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- ii. 191f, VI. *Abr.* 1 & n, 133ff, 225ff, *Mos.* ii. 55f, IX. *Aet.* 147[N]
- Solomon : IV. *Congr.* 177 (one of Moses' disciples, who is named a man of peace)
- Solon : I. *Op.* 103-105 ; VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 22 & [N] ; IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 47
- Sophocles : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 19
- Sparkler, or Mercury : II. *Cher.* 22, IV. *Quis Her.* 224
- Sparta, Spartan : VI. *Mos.* ii. 19 (laws), VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 22 (laws), VIII. *ib.* iv. 102 (legislator), IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 47, 114, *Vit. Cont.* 69 (austerity), *Aet.* 57, 68 (sown men)
- Stephanio : IX. *Flacc.* 112
- Stoic : II. *Post.* 133, IX. *Aet.* 4 & n, 8, 18, 54, 76, 78 & n, 89, 102f
- Sun : II. *Cher.* 21-26 (the "flaming sword" of Gen. iii. 24), V. *Som.* i. 72-76, 87-92, 112-114 (God Himself) ; *ib.* 77-86 (Mind, Sense-perception, Logos)
- Sunium : IX. *Flacc.* 156
- Sybarites : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 43, VIII. *ib.* iv. 102
- Sychem : see Shechem
- Syleus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 101 & n & N-104
- Symeon : see Simeon
- Syria : I. *Leg. All.* iii. 16, 18, IV. *Congr.* 41-43, V. *Fug.* 7, 44f & [N], 49, *Som.* ii. 59, VI. *Abr.* 91, 133, *Jos.* 230, *Mos.* i. 163, ii. 56, 246, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 217, VIII. *Virt.* 221, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75, *Flacc.* 25[N], 26, 39, *Hyp.* 6. 1, 6. 6, *Prov.* 2. 64, X. *Leg.* 179, 207, 219-222, 231, 245, 250-252, 259, 281, 333
- Jacob flees from "Laban the Syrian" (Gen. xxxi. 20f) because Syria means 'highlands,' and discretion is the better part of valour when the practising mind meets passion in an exalted state (*Leg. All.* iii. 16, 18). For the same reason,

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when he fled to Laban in the first place, it was to his mother's brother, not Laban "the Syrian" (xxvii. 43), the mind empty of sound sense (*Fug.* 44f & [N], 49). "Syrian" stands for the loftiness of arrogance when it is used of the concubine married to Manasseh (*Congr.* 41-43)

Talmi: 'One hanging' from lifeless things, as does the soul enamoured of external goods (*II. Post.* 60f)

Tamar: Tamar, 'palm,' is a symbol of victory; but Philo's interpretations are connected, not so much with the name, as with the story of Judah and Tamar in Gen. xxxviii, from which Tamar emerges as a type of virtue, even of chastity. "Judah took for Er a wife whose name was Tamar" (v. 6): the soul is a corpse-bearer; but it only realizes this when it becomes perfect and worthy of reward—when it weds Tamar, the sign of victory (*I. Leg. All.* iii. 74). She became widowed, and Judah bade her remain in his house (vv. 11ff): the soul was widowed of passions and pleasures, remained in the house of her Father and Saviour, received divine impregnation, conceived virtue, bore noble actions, and so won the 'palm' of victory (*III. Quod Deus* 136f). There the story of Tamar's deception of Judah is only suggested in barest outline; but the details of it form increasingly elaborate allegories. Thus, on vv. 14ff: virtue makes trial of her scholars, and sits veiled at the cross-roads, wanting inquiring minds to unveil her and behold her virgin beauty; it is the excellent Judah soul who does so, and there follows a mutual 'conceiving' or 'taking' (*IV. Congr.* 124-126)

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& n). Invincible virtue, vexed at men's absurd aims, is not found by Judah's messenger (seeking and not finding) ; a mind bent on purchasing piety gave pledges, the human virtues of fidelity, constancy, discipline ; but inquiries showed there was no harlot-soul in the region of the excellent, to the joy of the Judah mind, glad that his understanding (feminine, *διάνοια* ; but the allegory is becoming confused : see 154n) is a lady of chastity and no easy prey ; but his testing of the Tamar character was excusable, for reality is often concealed by semblance (V. *Fug.* 149-156 & 150[N]). When discussing divine parenthood, Philo uses the Tamar story to illustrate his point : the pledges are not the gifts of any mortal—the archetypal pattern of the universe (seal), the world's order and sequence of things (cord), the divine discipline (staff)—these all reveal the giver to be God ; (so the Tamar soul, or virtue, is impregnated by God) and the Judah mind, pleased at the divine inspiration that masters her, says, “ She is justified, since I gave her to no mortal ” : for he holds it impiety to defile the divine with things profane (V. *Mut.* 134-136). In V. *Som.* ii. 44 & n, 45, Judah's pledges to Tamar (‘ the soul ’) are contrasted with the insignia given to Joseph by Pharaoh. In VIII. *Virt.* 220-222, Tamar is said to have turned from polytheism to worship the one great Cause, to have kept her life stainless, and to be a pattern and source of nobility (see 208[N], 221[N], and VIII. *Gen. Introd.* pp. xvii, xviii & n)

Tantalus : IV. *Quis Her.* 269, VII. *Decal.* 149, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 81

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- Tartarus : VIII. *Praem.* 152 & n, X. *Leg.* 49, 103
- Terah : Abraham came out from Haran, land of the senses, but his father, Terah, died there (Gen. xii. 4, xi. 32) ; this points to a contrast between the virtue-loving Abraham and Terah, whose name means 'scent-exploring' : he is only an explorer or spy of virtue, not a citizen, only smelling at sound sense, taking only the second prize (V. *Som.* i. 47-52). But the Haran-life includes exploration of the mind, so Terah stands for the "Know thyself" philosophy, and with him Socrates is identified (*ib.* 56 & n-58)
- Thebes : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 15
- Theodorus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 127 & [N]-130
- Theodotus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 1
- Theon : IX. *Aet.* 48 & [N]-51
- Theophrastus : IX. *Aet.* 117-119 & nn
- Therapeutae : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 73[N], 75[N], *Vit. Cont.* Introd. pp. 104, 106, 108, title [N], *passim*, esp. 2 & [N], 11, 36n & [N], 59[N], 65[N], 88, 90 & n, *Hyp.* Introd. p. 410
- Thersites : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 9 & n
- Thesmophoria : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 140 & [N]
- Thessaly : X. *Leg.* 281
- Thobel : Sella, one of Lamech's two wives, bore a son, Thobel, which means 'all together' ; he stands for the self-conceit of those who think they have secured everything when they have health and wealth. He is by trade a hammerer (Gen. iv. 22), maker of war and munitions of war, for lusts are the real war-makers and batterers of mankind ; he is indeed son of 'shadow' (Sella) (II. *Post.* 114-120)
- Thummim : see Urim
- Thyestes : VIII. *Praem.* 134 & n

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Tiber : **X. Leg.** 155, 181

Tiberius Caesar : **IX. Flacc.** Introd. p. 295, 2, 8-14 & 10[N], 28, 105, 112, 128, 158, **X. Leg.** Introd. p. xxiv, 8, 14, 23-26, 29, 33-38, 58, 141, 158-161, 166-168, 240, 298-305, 308, 329

Tiberius Gemellus : **IX. Flacc.** Introd. p. 295, 10 & n & [N], 13, **X. Leg.** 23-33, 67f, 75

Tiberius Nero, son of Germanicus : **IX. Flacc.** 22

Tigris : " The third river is Tigris (A.V., Hiddekel) ; this is that whose course is over against the Assyrians " (Gen. ii. 14). Assyria means ' directing,' Tigris means ' tiger ' : Self-mastery is the virtue set " over against " pleasure, which thinks to direct the course of human weakness ; Tigris symbolizes self-mastery because the desire with which self-mastery is occupied is like a tiger (!). The river does not encircle any land, for self-mastery is powerless to encircle desire and pleasure (**I. Leg. All.** i. 63, 69-73, 85-87)

Timaeus : Philo names the work in **IX. Aet.** 13, 25, 141 ; see also Plato

Timna : Concubine of Esau's son Eliphaz and mother of Amalek (Gen. xxxvi. 12). The wicked take to themselves as concubines wicked doctrines, and beget evil offspring. The bodily nature is the concubine, here called Timna, or ' tossing faintness,' through which passion (Amalek) is generated : for the soul faints and loses all power through passion (**I. Leg. All.** i. 54, 59f)

Trachonitis : **X. Leg.** 326

Triptolemus : **VIII. Praem.** 8 & [N]-10

Trophonius : **X. Leg.** 78

Trypho : **IX. Flacc.** 76

Tubal : see Thobel

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Urim and Thummim : VI. *Mos.* 113n, 117ff[N], VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 84n ; and see Scripture Index at Exod. xxviii. 26, LXX (E.V., 30)

Venerable Goddesses : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 140

Venus : IV. *Quis Her.* 224

Vitellius : X. *Leg.* 231

Vulcan : see Hephaestus

Xanthians : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 118-120

Xenophon : IX. *Vit. Cont.* 57f & [N]

Xerxes : V. *Som.* ii. 117-120

Zabulon : V. *Fug.* 73. The sheaves or 'doings' of Joseph's dream include Zabulon the symbol of light, since he is named 'night's flowing' ; the man in pursuit of light replacing darkness grasps wakefulness and keen-sightedness (V. *Som.* 34, 39)

Zaphenath-Paneah : V. *Mut.* 89 & n-91

Zelophehad : The prophetic oracles of Moses include his pronouncement on the law of inheritance, made in answer to the question of the five daughters of Zelophehad (Num. xxvii. 1-11, VI. *Mos.* ii. 233-245, cf. VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 124-132 & 127n). They symbolize the five senses, and so it is appropriate that they belong to the tribe of Manasseh ('from forgetfulness' = recollection) ; for while memory has male progeny, the irrational portion of the soul can bear only female offspring (IV. *Mig.* 205f)

Zelpah : see Zilpah

Zeno : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 53 & n-57, 97, 106-108 & n, 160

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Zeus : I. *Op.* 100, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 102, 127, 130, *Aet.* 81 & n, *Prov.* 2. 7, 2. 24, X. *Leg.* 188, 265, 346

Zillah : see Sella

Zilpah : The soul that learns by instruction (Abraham) needs the School learning (Hagar), but the Practiser (Jacob) has two wives and two concubines, of which Zilpah is one ; she is the hand-maid of Leah (virtue) and signifies oratorical power : for her name means 'walking mouth' (IV. *Congr.* 24 & n, 29 & [N], 30 & n, 33). In contrasting Noah and Joseph, the "generations" of Noah indicate a development of a good kind, whereas there is a regressive development from Jacob to Joseph, who is said to have been "young" and keeping sheep with the bastard sons of the concubines, Bilhah and Zilpah (Gen. xxxvii. 2, III. *Quod Deus* 119-121). In VIII. *Virt.* 223 & n-225 Philo describes the extraordinarily cordial relations of the wives with the concubines and their respective offspring with each other (!) as an example of nobility of character among women. Zilpah is also named in I. *Leg. All.* ii. 94

Zipporah : Zipporah, wife of Moses (Exod. ii. 21), means 'bird,' and so she represents virtue that wings its way from earth to heaven. Moses, therefore, like other virtuous souls, did not "know" a woman, but his mate was a virtue (II. *Cher.* 41) ; yet the virtues must generate, and so they are impregnated by God Himself, as was Zipporah (*ib.* 47). Moses did not *take* Zipporah to wife, but received her, as the perfect natures receive Reason from God Himself (II. *Post.* 77f). In V. *Mut.* 120 she is the winged, inspired, and prophetic nature

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- The Hebrew midwife of Exod. i. 15 (E.V., Shiphrah) called Zipporah typifies the divine wisdom, which soars aloft like a bird (IV. *Quis Her.* 128)
- Zoan : "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt" (Num. xiii. 22) : the soul wedded to goodness, in which are buried the virtues (Hebron), takes precedence over the body (Egypt) and vice (Zoan)—for Zoan means 'command of evacuation' (II. *Post.* 59 & [N]-62 & [N])
- Zoar : V. *Som.* i. 85, VIII. *Praem.* 78[N]
- Zodiac : V. *Som.* ii. 112, VI. *Mos.* ii. 123f, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 87, VIII. *Praem.* 65 & n & [N]; cf. IV. *Quis Her.* 176 & n, V. *Som.* i. 214

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An asterisk indicates words which are also included in the Index of Names to which reference should be made. They are only given here when they are discussed in the Notes without having been in the text of Philo at that point.

Abbott : IX. *Flacc.* 20n

Academy : IV. *Quis Her.* 246N

Adam Smith : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 204N, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 160n, 217n, *Virt.* 75n, 111N

Adler : III. Pref. p. v, *Quod Deus* 63n, *Agr.* 158n, *Ebr.* Introd. p. 308n, 4N, 12N, 40n, 74N, 80n, 84N, 118n, 134n & N, 146N, 149fN, 176n & N, 203n, 208n, 218n, *Sob.* 14nn, 40n, 52n, IV. *Mig.* 167N

Admetus : VIII. *Virt.* 124N

Adonis : IX. *Flacc.* 136fN

Aelian : V. *Som.* ii. 48N, 121N, 122N, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 176N, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 73N, *Virt.* 34N, 139N, IX. *Aet.* 128n

Aenesidemus : III. *Ebr.* Introd. p. 314n, 170N, VI. *Jos.* 125-147N

Aeschines : IX. *Flacc.* 20n, 138n, X. *Leg.* Introd. p. xxii n

Aeschylus * : VI. *Mos.* i. 279n, VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 16n, VIII. *Virt.* 88n, 125n, 226n, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 134N, 140N, 143n, *Aet.* 49n, 139n

Agamemnon : V. *Som.* ii. 144n

Agrippa * : Herod Agrippa I, grandson of Herod the Great, friend of Gaius Caesar, d. A.D. 44, IX. *Flacc.* 25N, 30n, 97n, X. *Leg.* Introd. pp. xiii, xx, xxv, xxx & n, 179n, 180n, 191n, 292n

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- Agrippa : Herod Agrippa II, his son, **IX. Flacc.** 20N
 Agrippa * : Marcus Agrippa, friend of Augustus,
 grandfather of Gaius Caesar, *d.* 12 B.C., **VII. Spec.**
Leg. iv. 237N, **IX. Flacc.** 158n, **X. Leg.** 291n
 Agrippa : Agrippa Postumus, his son, **IX. Flacc.** 158n
 Agrippina : **IX. Flacc.** 10N, **X. Leg.** 87n
 Alcibiades : **III. Sob.** 12N, **IX. Vit. Cont.** 17N, 59N
 Alcmene : **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 10N
 Alexander the alabarch, brother of Philo : **IX. Flacc.**
 25N
 Alexander Aphrodisiensis : **VII. Spec. Leg.** ii. 56N
 Alexander the Great * : **VI. Abr.** 182N, **Jos.** 136n,
VII. Spec. Leg. iii. 164N, **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.**
 96N
 Alexander Jannaeus : **IX. Quod Omn. Prob.** 75N
 Alexander of Pherae : **VII. Spec. Leg.** iii. 164N
 Alexander Tiberius, nephew of Philo : **IX. Prov.**
Introd. pp. 447-449, 1n, 2. 1n, 2. 21n, 2. 43nn,
 2. 50n, 2. 51n, 2. 55n, 2. 56n, 2. 57n, 2. 62n, 2.
 66n, 2. 69n, 2. 72n
 Alexander Trallianus : **IX. Vit. Cont.** 40n
 Alexandria, Alexandrians * : **I. Gen. Introd.** pp. ix,
 xxi, **VII. Gen. Introd.** p. xii n, *Spec. Leg.* i. 55N,
 ii. 82n & N, 125N, iii. 3N, 171n & N, **VIII. Spec.**
Leg. iv. 13N, 237N, **IX. Vit. Cont.** *Introd.* pp.
 104f, 106 & n, title N, **Flacc.** 20N, 25N, 30n, 45N,
 54N, 62n, 74n, 130N, 139N, **X. Leg.** *Introd.* pp.
 xxi n, xxiv & n, xxvi & n, xxvii, 151n, 179n, 190n,
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 Aloeidae * : **V. Som.** ii. 283N, **VIII. Praem.** 23N
 Ambrose : **I. Gen. Introd.** p. xxi, **II. Sac. Introd.**
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IX. Quod Omn. Prob. *Introd.* pp. 2, 5 & nn, 19n,
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- Anaxagoras * : V. *Fug.* 8n & N, 10n, *Som.* i. 22n & N, 23N, 31N, IX. *Vit. Cont.* 14n, *Aet.* 47n, *Prov.* 2. 1n
 Anaxarchus * : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 108n, *Prov.* 2. 1n
 Anaximander : V. *Fug.* 8N, *Som.* i. 22N, 23N, 53N
 Anaximenes : V. *Fug.* 8N, *Som.* i. 230N
 Andocides : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 86N
 Angus : VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 327ffN
 Antaeus : IV. *Quis Her.* 46n
 Antigenidas * : VI. *Jos.* 168N, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 144n
 Antigonus : VI. *Abr.* 182N
 Antiochus Epiphanes : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75N, X. *Leg.* 346n
 Antiphon : V. *Som.* i. 95n
 Antiquities of Philo : VI. *Gen. Introd.* p. xvii
 Antony : VI. *Jos.* 56n, VIII. *Spec. Leg.* iv. 85n
 Aphrodite * : VI. *Abr.* 244N, X. *Leg.* 79N
 Apion : VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 2N
 Apis : III. *Ebr.* 95N, VI. *Mos.* ii. 162n
 Apollo * : VI. *Abr.* 244N, VII. *Decal.* 96N, 159N, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 10N, X. *Leg.* 95n
 Apollodorus : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 101n, 143n
 Apollonius Dyscolus : V. *Som.* i. 101N
 Apophrades : VII. *Spec. Leg.* iii. 183N
 Appian : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 119n
 Aquila : III. *Ebr.* 31N, *Sob.* 32N, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 145N
 Arad : VI. *Mos.* i. 250n
 Archelaus, Greek philosopher : V. *Som.* i. 22N
 Archelaus, son of Herod the Great : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75N
 Archer-Hind : I. *Op.* 54N, 170fN, II. *Cher.* 21n, *Det.* 84fN, III. *Plant.* 118N, V. *Som.* i. 32N, VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 219n, IX. *Aet.* 13N, 25n, 38n

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- Archiv für Papyrusforschung* : VII. *Spec. Leg.* i. 2N
 Archytas : VI. *Mos.* ii. 4N
 Areopagus : VIII. *Virt.* 139N
 Ares * : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 10N, X. *Leg.* 112n, 113n
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 Aristides Quintilianus : IV. *Congr.* 77N, V. *Som.* i.
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 Aristobulus, King : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 75N
 Aristobulus Historicus : VI. *Abr.* 182N
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 VIII. *Virt.* 34N, 124N, IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 140N,
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 Aristotelians : V. *Som.* i. 30N
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 V. *Fug.* 19n, *Mut.* 12N, *Som.* i. 21N, 30N, 145N,
 VII. Gen. *Introd.* p. xv, *Decal.* 31n, *Spec. Leg.* i.
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 Praem. 49-51N, IX. *Aet.* 48N, 148n
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 Cael. : IV. *Conf.* 5N, *Quis Her.* 283N, IX. *Aet.*
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 Categ. : VII. *Decal.* 30N
 Eth. Eud. : IX. *Quod Omn. Prob.* 19n
 Eth. Nic. : I. *Leg. All.* i. 4n, II. *Det.* 7N, III. *Quod*
 Deus 46N, 162-165N, V. *Mut.* 114n
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- Metaph.* : I. *Leg. All.* i. 57N, II. *Post.* 173N, III. *Plant.* 123N, VII. *Spec. Leg.* ii. 56N
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